City of Austin
Historic Resources Survey

Contract No. MA 6800 NA160000013

Final Report
Volume I

October 24, 2016

Prepared for the City of Austin

Prepared by Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc.
Austin, Texas

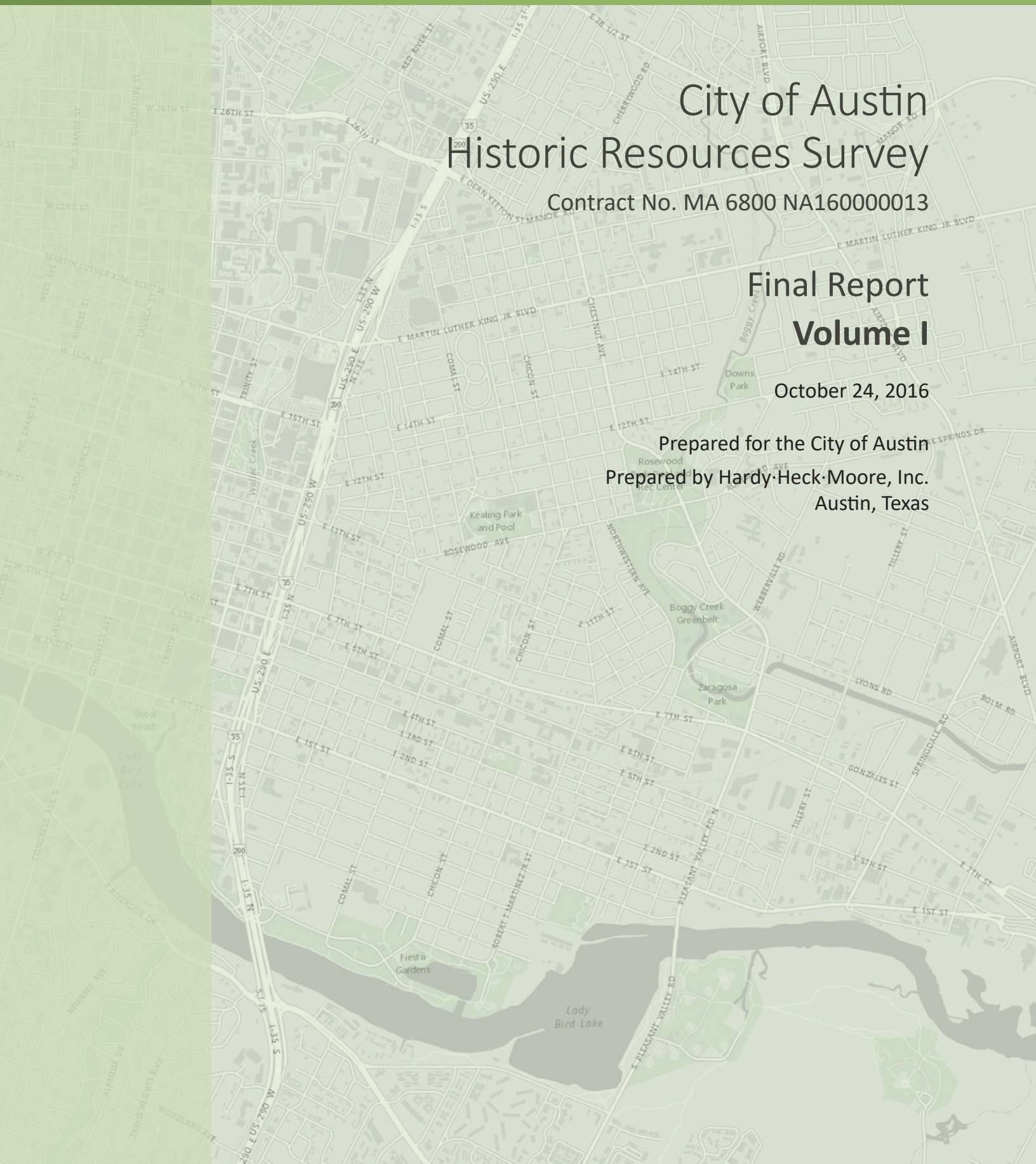

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume I

Volume II

Volume III

Volume IV

Volume V

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VOLUME I

1. Executive Summary

In November 2015, Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc. (HHM) entered into a contract with the City of Austin to complete a Historic Resources Survey Report to locate, identify, and document all buildings, structures, sites, landscapes, and objects built in or before 1970 within the designated area, in order to determine whether any of these properties meet the City of Austin's criteria for historic zoning, as well as the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) criteria for listing in the National Register. This effort is consistent with the *Imagine Austin Comprehensive Plan*, which sets forth preservation as a key goal for the city, and marks survey and documentation as an essential step toward meeting that goal. As defined by the city, the purpose of the project is to:

- Locate, identify, and photograph all buildings, structures, sites, landscapes, and objects within the designated area which may be eligible for designation as a historic landmark or as a contributing resource to a Historic District as set forth in §25-2-350 and §25-2-352 of the Code of the City of Austin, as amended.
- Research and produce a historical context report for neighborhoods and subdivisions throughout Austin for use by the city, neighborhood associations, and the public to evaluate the historical significance of properties within the designated area.
- Delineate the boundaries of, and establish the historical context of, any potential historic districts within the designated survey area.

The city defined the boundaries of the survey of East Austin as IH 35 to the west, Manor Road to the north, Pleasant Valley Road/Capital Metro Rail line to the east, Lady Bird Lake to the south (*figure I-1*, to follow).

In the spring of 2016, HHM conducted a field survey in East Austin, combined with a series of public meetings and other local outreach to gather oral histories, as well as archival research. As a result, the survey effort identified and documented a total of 6,600 resources within the defined survey boundaries. Each identified resource was evaluated for eligibility for local landmark, historic district listing, and/or National Register listing. All evaluations were made by professionals meeting the *Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualification Standards* (36 CFR 61), carefully following the City Code of Ordinances and the National Register criteria. Recommended eligibility determinations for East Austin are summarized below within *Table I-1*. Eligibility recommendations will be subject to further review and research by the preservation officer upon receipt of an application for historic zoning.

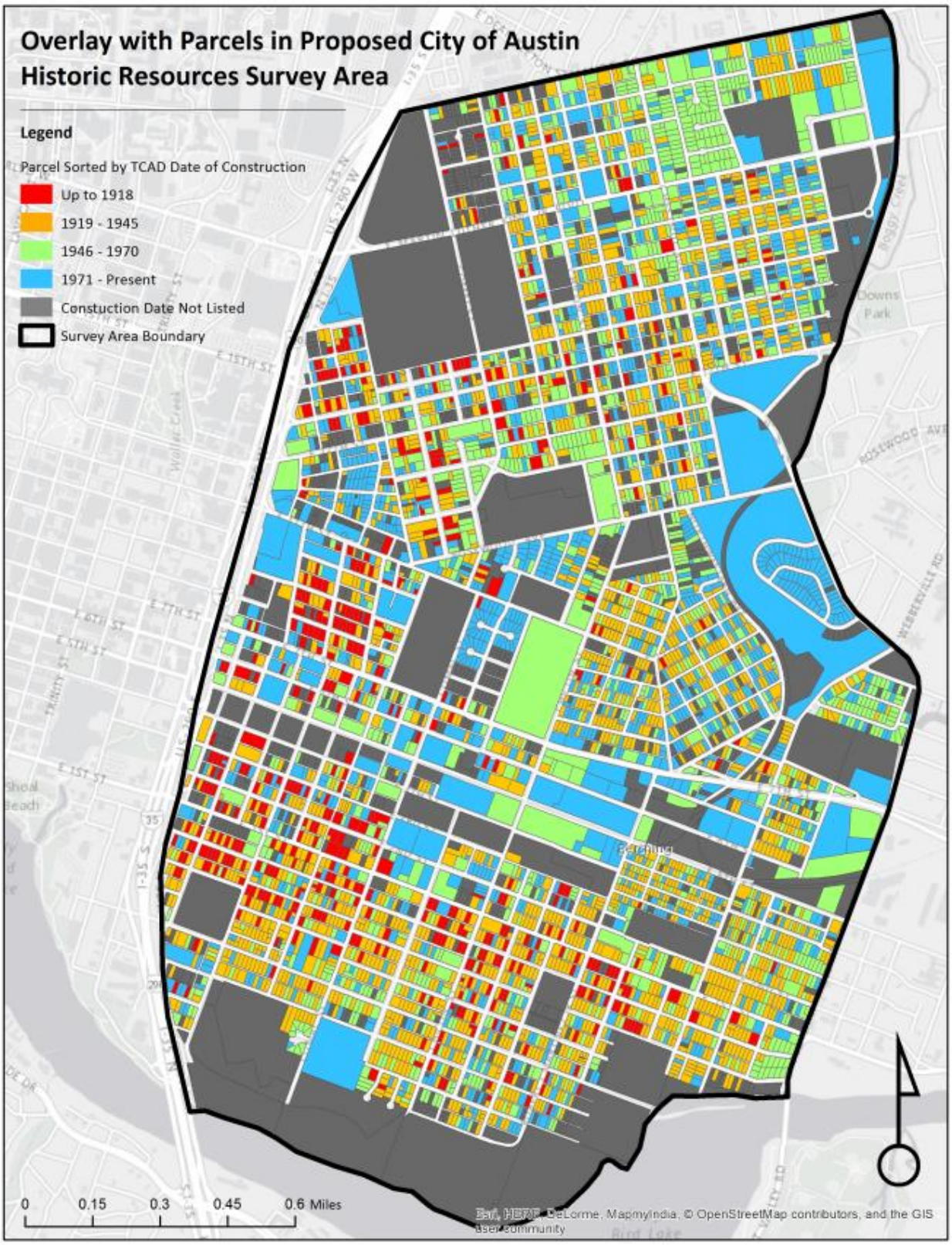

Figure I-1. Map depicting the boundaries of the East Austin survey, with color-coded groupings showing construction date ranges. Source: Map by HHM using Esri base map, 2015.

Table I-1. Eligibility Counts. Number of resources per each eligibility recommendation category, according to City of Austin criteria versus National Register criteria.

Eligibility Recommendation	City of Austin	National Register
Individually eligible	99	136
Both individually eligible and contributing to an eligible historic district	199	201
Contributing to an eligible historic district	1,435	1,403
Non-contributing to an eligible historic district	977	977
Not eligible	3,864	3,863
Previous designation (no recommendation)	26	20
TOTAL	**6,600**	**6,600**

Note that a City of Austin recommendation and a National Register recommendation was assigned for each identified resource.

The survey project additionally entailed completion of a historic context of East Austin, taking advantage of oral histories and archival research. The context forms the basis of all eligibility recommendations, and the survey report draws clear links between individual resources and the significant trends covered within the historic context. For future use and interpretation, the context should be considered as encompassing all significant historic trends known to date. To effectively prove that a resource meets criteria for historic trends or historic individuals, an applicant must draw a clear connection to one of the trends established herein. However, if a new trend is identified, additional research and analysis is required to demonstrate that the trend indeed has significance to Austin's history.

Finally, this report also includes a citywide historic context of Austin intended to provide a baseline to inform eligibility assessments across the city in the future. To facilitate and encourage future survey and assessment of historic resources across the city, the report concludes by providing recommendations for future efforts to enhance our knowledge and understanding of Austin's invaluable historic resources in the years to come.

I.2. EAST AUSTIN HISTORIC CONTEXT

2.1. Introduction

The following narrative historic context provides the framework for understanding the historical events, trends, and associations that shaped the history and physical character of the East Austin survey area (see *figure I-2* to follow). The historic context begins with Austin's founding in 1839 and extends to 1970, the cut-off for the associated historic resources survey. While the context emphasizes local history, it also considers broader trends and events at the regional, state, and national levels. Its major sections extend over specific and well-defined periods of time with identifiable patterns of development, as well as cultural, demographic, and architectural trends. The context presents the material generally in chronological order, then by themes within each time period. The chronology's organization is structured as follows:

- Section 2.1. Introduction
- Section 2.2. Early Patterns of Development in East Austin, 1839–1865
- Section 2.3. Post-Civil War Development, 1866–1876
- Section 2.4. Continued Growth and Rising Segregation, 1877–1928
- Section 2.5. Koch & Fowler's 1928 City Plan
- Section 2.6. Depression Era and World War II, 1929–1945
- Section 2.7. Postwar Suburbanization, 1946–1969
- Section 2.8. Interstate 35 and the Creation of "East Austin," 1962–1980
- Section 2.9. Conclusion

The context relies heavily on historic maps and photographs, most of which are available at the local repositories including the Perry Castañeda Library at the University of Texas, Center for American History, General Land Office, Texas Historical Commission and, most importantly, the Austin History Center. Documentation of previously identified historic resources from the Texas Historical Commission and the City of Austin Historic Preservation Office informs the context as well. In addition, the context shares information provided by interviews with local residents who shared their stories and insights into a rich and underappreciated part of Austin. The context provides guidance that will help the reader identify and understand significant historical trends that occurred within the East Austin survey area and how extant resources (resources that are still standing) may be associated with these trends. Where possible, the context identifies specific examples of resources that represent trends; however, they should not be considered the only or even the best examples. Further examples may be found in the inventory of surveyed resources (*Appendix B*), the survey forms for properties that meet the criteria for individual landmark designation (*Appendix C*), and the compiled information regarding historic districts that meet the criteria for local and/or National Register designation (*Appendix D*). Additional and more detailed research will discover other significant links to the past that allow for a

Figure I-2. Map showing the East Austin Survey Area Boundary in red. Source: base map by Esri, map overlay by HHM, 2016.

resource to meet the criteria for historic designation. As a result, eligibility recommendations will be subject to further review and research by the preservation officer upon receipt of an application for historic zoning.

Reflecting the primary source materials, the context sometimes includes the use of terms and phrases now considered to be inappropriate and/or demeaning. It is not the intent to perpetuate such words but instead to reflect and accurately represent the times in which they are used. They are rooted in history and are part of our past.

2.2. Early Patterns of Development in East Austin, 1839–1865

At the City of Austin's founding in 1839, the area commonly referred to today as East Austin—the subject of this survey project—was undeveloped frontier with a varied topography that would inform its organization into rural lots. Initially, most development and construction activities took place in the original town site, but East Austin also benefitted from the influx of people who moved to the city. These new residents included a broad mix of people and ethnic backgrounds that included Anglo Americans, African American slaves, and European immigrants. They typically built simple and unpretentious buildings from cedar and oak trees and other locally available materials, few of which survive. Over time, pioneers replaced these crude structures with buildings that used higher-quality materials. Much of the area through the mid-1860s contained farms, including several that were owned by prominent figures in Austin's and Texas's history. In turn, many of those individuals later sold portions of their land to freedmen after the Civil War. Many of the patterns established during these formative years influenced subsequent development in later decades and laid the groundwork for how East Austin evolved over time.

2.2.1. THE FOUNDING OF AUSTIN AND ITS OUTLOTS, 1839–1840

Mirabeau B. Lamar became President of the Republic of Texas in December 1838, and soon after advocated moving the Republic's capital from Houston to a new city on the Colorado River, near the small settlement of Waterloo. Following Lamar's lead, the Texas Congress subsequently acquired 7,735 acres on the north bank of the river for the capital and stipulated that the city be named Austin to honor Stephen F. Austin. With the help of surveyors L. J. Pilie and Charles Schoolfield, Edwin Waller carved out a 640-acre tract (one square-mile) from government lands for the town site. The first auction of lots was held in on August 1, 1839, and the Congress convened in Austin for the first time in November that same year.

Although the area now known as East Austin was outside the original city, it was part of the government-owned reservation established by the Texas Congress, as noted by an 1839 map (*figure I-3*). Government officials envisioned that Austin would become a major city and made plans to create a blueprint for future growth. In 1840, William S. Sandusky, a draftsman and artist with ties to Lamar, prepared a map for the Republic that directed how the remaining acreage within the government reservation could be developed. The map delineated large tracts of lands ("divisions") and smaller parcels ("outlots") in areas immediately east, north, and west of the original townsite.[1] These lands became known as the Austin Outlots. Those within the project area are depicted in *figure I-4*. Property beyond East Avenue contained a relatively diverse landscape that was suitable for a variety of purposes. While pioneers farmed most of the land, the areas closest to the city's commercial and governmental centers also had potential to be developed for urban residential purposes.[2]

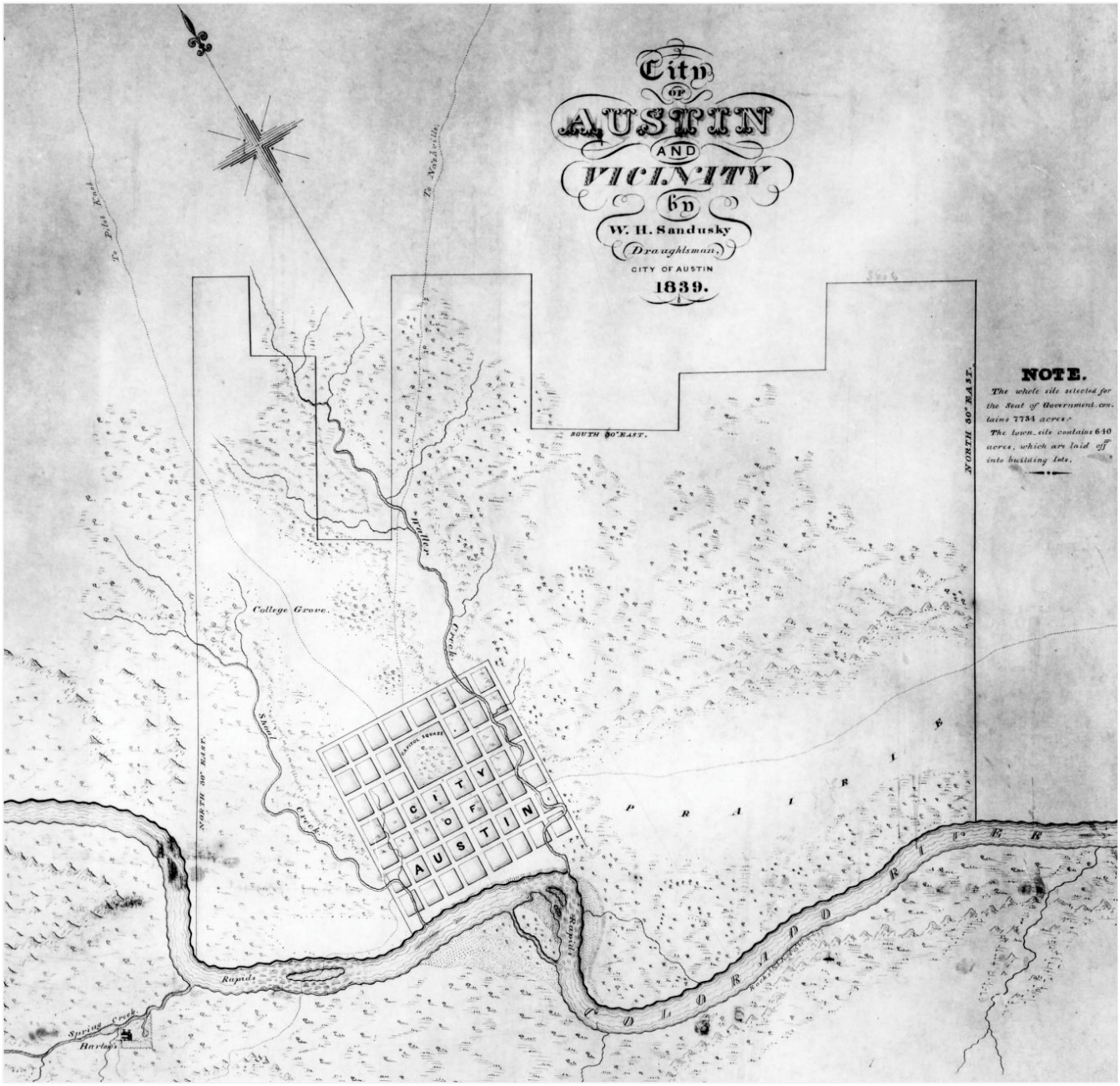

Figure I-3. W. H. Sandusky, *City of Austin and Vicinity*, 1839. Drawn by W. H. Sandusky, this map depicts the limits of government-owned land set aside for Austin. The original one-square mile townsite is clearly defined between Shoal Creek and Waller Creek, although the block sizes and street layout are not accurate. The map depicts the limits of all government-owned land, which provided ample room for the city's future development. The map also shows the old Austin-to-Bastrop Road. According to local historian Marian Starr Barkley in her book *History of Travis County and Austin, 1839-1899*, pioneers took this path into Austin passing through the Montopolis settlement on the north side of the Colorado River. The road continued westward toward the 900 block of present-day East 7th Street, then down to East 5th Street and into the city. Source: Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

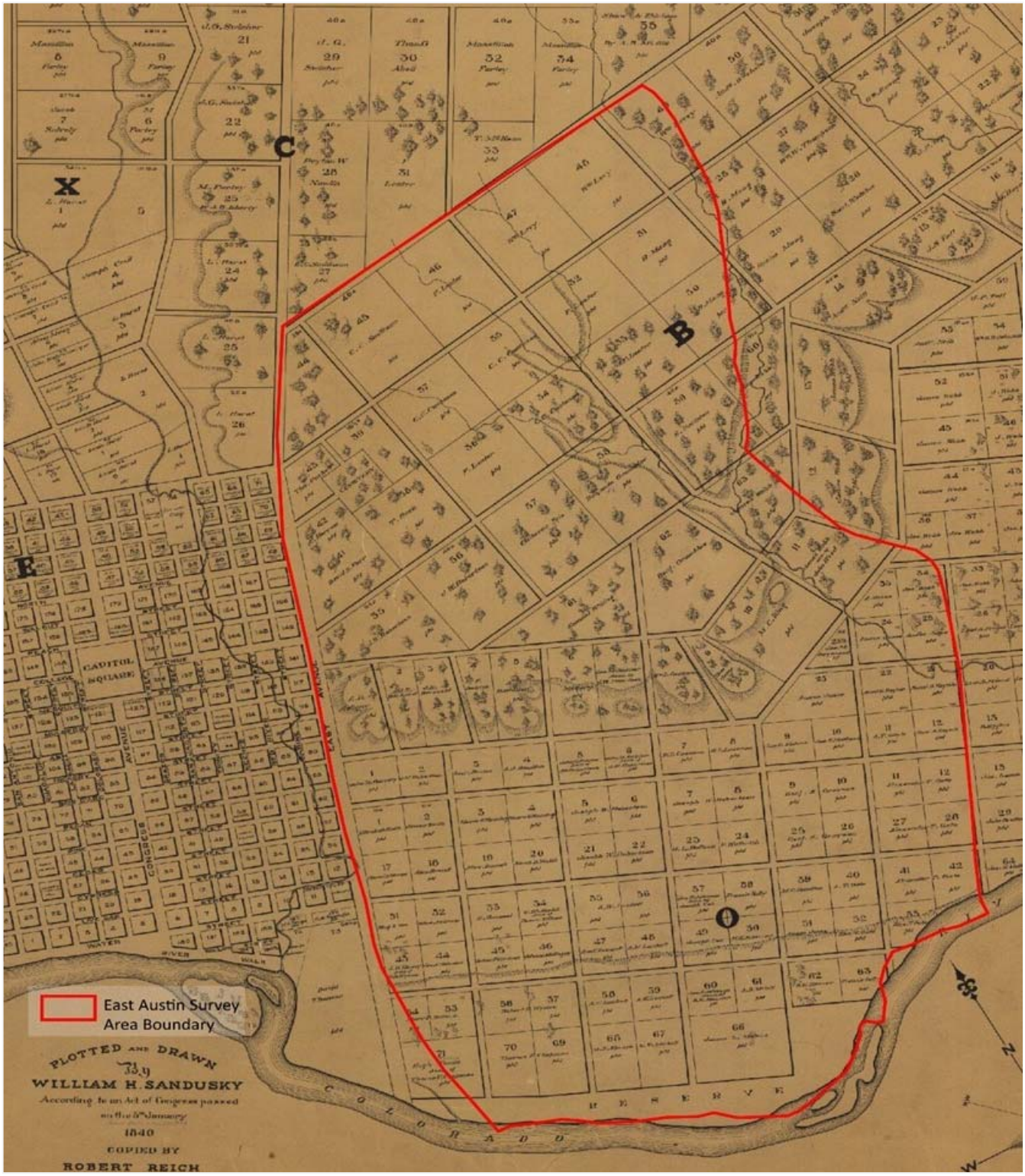

Figure I-4. Detail of *A Topographical Map of the Government Tract Adjoining the City of Austin*, William Sandusky, 1840. This is a detail of a map that shows the 7,735 acres that the Republic of Texas set aside for the city of Austin and surrounding land. The general layout of each Division in areas east of the original townsite accommodated the varied topography and soil types and was not as rigid as the gridiron plan used for the city. Divisions A and B were divided by a bluff along which extended the route of the Austin-to-Bastrop Road (present-day East 7th Street and Webberville Road). The bluff, Boggy Creek and its tributaries, and a landscape dotted with oak and cedar trees directed the irregular layout of Division B with its gravelly loam soil. Divisions A and O lay south of the bluff and consisted of a more orthogonal arrangement on flat "prairies" covered with grasses and marked by the occasional oak tree.[3] Source: General Land Office.

2.2.2. EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF EAST AUSTIN, 1840–1845

As with other Austin Outlots, the Republic of Texas sold lots in Divisions A, B, and O to private citizens via direct sale and auction over a period of several years.[4] The creation of the Austin Outlots allowed for future urban growth, but in the short term, the large lots set aside sufficient land for farming. As such, early settlers established small farms or "plantations" in what is now East Austin. An example of one such farm was owned by James Smith along Boggy Creek. Though just east of the present survey area, on the eastern edge of Division A (Outlots 30, 40, and 41), Smith's 50-acre homestead—a wheat farm that produced upwards of 25 bushels an acre in the early 1840s—illustrates an early agricultural use of the "prairie" land of Outlots in Divisions A and O.[5] In general, the Outlots, including the more wooded property in Division B, were cleared for subsistence farming where landowners raised livestock and crops such as cows, pigs, cotton, corn, and other vegetables, and planted fruit trees as in other parts of Travis County.[6]

Aside from small-scale agricultural use, the Outlots in East Austin remained largely undeveloped in the mid-1800s. One exception was the land at the city's northeast edge in Division B that was set aside for a city cemetery when Austin was platted in 1839.[7] Rural cemeteries such as this, "established around elevated viewsites at the city outskirts," were commonplace in the United States in the antebellum era.[8] Reportedly, the first burial on this property was in 1839 for an unnamed enslaved person owned by Hamilton White.[9] While the earliest recorded burial was that of George W. Logan in 1841, the location of his grave is unknown.[10] The oldest existing monuments in City Cemetery (now Oakwood Cemetery) commemorated two men killed by Native Americans in 1842.[11] Settlers still encountered tribes in the areas surrounding the city at that time, as noted by the fact that the high bluff in the 1100 block of East 8th Street was supposedly called "Apache Point," according to an undated oral history obtained from a long-time East Austin resident.[12] However, it is most likely that early residents of the Outlots engaged with members of the Comanche tribe, as settlers' confrontations with them are noted in various primary and secondary research sources.

One of the earliest extant structures east of the original townsite in the project area was built as a home for Jean Pierre Isidore Alphonse Dubois, the *charge d'affaires* to the Republic of Texas from France from 1840 to 1846. This building is now known as the French Legation and is listed in the National Register.[13] After lodging in a local inn and a rental property at Pecan (6th) and Guadalupe Streets, Dubois acquired land in Division B, Outlot 1 from Anson Jones on September 15, 1840.[14] Dubois was acquainted with Jones when the former was a secretary to the French Legation in Washington, D.C., and the latter was minister to the United States (June 1838–May 1839) from the Republic of Texas.[15] The Republic of Texas Treasury Department granted the Frenchman the patent to the property after he completed his installment payments on April 23, 1841.[16] Dubois likely chose the property for its scenic qualities; the vista from the land—at the crest of a hill—offered views west over Austin and south over the Colorado River.[17] Dubois himself described it as "a beautiful piece of property."[18] On the 21-acre site (bound by present-day IH

35 frontage road and San Marcos, East 7th, and East 11th Streets), Dubois had a one-story, hip-roofed home built. Design collaboration between the Frenchman and Thomas William Ward, a public servant at the General Land Office at the time and later city mayor, yielded a building with a unique combination of Anglo and French architectural features.[19] Like the simple log cabins most common in Austin during this time, the frame of Dubois's house was constructed of cedar found on the property. On the other hand, the Legation's finished surfaces were constructed of machine-milled loblolly pine from Bastrop, which was freighted to the young city for building purposes.[20] Transportation of this material would have been facilitated by the fact that the Austin-to-Bastrop Road marked the southern boundary of Dubois's property. Even before the home was complete, Dubois sold it to a Catholic priest, Jean Marie Odin, with the understanding that Dubois would complete the house and could live in it until April 1, 1842.[21]

2.2.3. PRE-CIVIL WAR DEVELOPMENT OF EAST AUSTIN, 1845–1860

With the exception of the French Legation, the government tract's eastern part remained undeveloped while the capital city was briefly changed to Houston and then to Washington-on-the-Brazos (Washington County) from 1842 to 1845. The seat of government returned to Austin after Texas joined the United States in 1845; the First Legislature convened in Austin on February 19, 1846.[22] The still-rural, open character of the Austin Outlots allowed for horse races to be held in the vicinity of "north Driving Park and east of Comal."[23] This location refers to an area that was east of Comal and East 1st (present-day Cesar Chavez) Streets.

The years up to the Civil War were an "era of elegance" where residents began replacing log cabins with houses and buildings of milled wood or masonry construction.[24] Among these was probably Belle Monte, the home of Judge James Webb, which Mirabeau B. Lamar, second President of the Republic of Texas, often visited.[25] Webb owned a significant amount of property in Divisions A and B at the east edge of the present project survey area on which Belle Monte (no longer standing) was located.[26] By 1848, some development in the "lovely valley" south of the French Legation included at least a smattering of "small farms in a high state of cultivation."[27] The property occupied by the former French Legation became known as Robertson Hill when Dr. Joseph Robertson purchased it on May 16, 1848, and moved in with his family and nine slaves some time the following year.[28] In addition to the former French Legation property, Robertson also purchased several other Outlots in Divisions A, B, and O throughout 1848 and 1849.[29]

Another well-known figure that held stake in the east Outlots was Andrew Jackson (A. J.) Hamilton. After moving to Austin in 1849, Hamilton—Texas's Attorney General at the time—purchased Outlot 4 in Division A and Outlot 5 in Division B at an auction via two separate sales in June 1849.[30] What is now known as the Texas State Cemetery saw its beginnings in 1851, when General Edward Burleson (then a Texas State Senator) was buried on then-Senator Hamilton's property in Outlot 5. With General Burleson's sudden and unexpected death on December 26, 1851, the Texas Legislature tasked a

committee to make the senator's funeral arrangements.[31] The interment was to originally take place at City Cemetery (present-day Oakwood Cemetery; listed in the National Register), but Hamilton donated his property instead.[32] On February 6, 1852, the Texas Senate committee tasked to select a "suitable State burying ground" for the burial of prominent Texans officially chose Hamilton's 21-acre property on which Burleson was already buried. Instead of accepting the land as a donation, however, the state government decided that Hamilton would be compensated with equivalent property in the city or paid the property's value.[33]

Despite government-related growth within the original townsite during the years before the Civil War, historical research yields little additional information regarding the development of the Outlots on the city's east side in the 1850s.[34] Travis County's designation of several pre-existing roads, including the "Road from Austin to Bastrop," in 1853, however, assured the continued familiarity with and travel through this area to access the city (*figure I-5* on the following page).[35] Also in 1853, A. J. Hamilton purchased 200 acres on several Outlots in Division A from Judge Webb. In place of Webb's home, Hamilton constructed a house (no longer standing) with portholes for windows and solid blind doors – a testament to the fact that the Outlots were still considered frontier where residents needed protection from raids by the Comanche and other native tribes in the vicinity.[36]

In 1854, the Texas legislature finally approved the exchange of unsold city lots for Hamilton's property that had been selected for the state cemetery. Abner S. Lipscomb, Associate Justice of the Texas Supreme Court, was buried in the cemetery in December 1856.[37] The cemetery did not receive additional burials until the Civil War. The parcel labeled as "Cemetary [*sic*]" on the Sandusky map (and used as such since Austin's founding) became the official municipal cemetery in 1856 when the State relinquished its interest in the cemetery to the City of Austin.[38]

2.2.4. THE CIVIL WAR YEARS IN EAST AUSTIN, 1861–1865

According to the 1860 census, 12 free African Americans and 3 Mexican families lived in Austin. It is unclear where these families lived because the census listed neither addresses nor streets. Slaves of the Robertson family lived in quarters erected at the north edge of Robertson Hill. These individuals, as well as other enslaved laborers, constructed buildings for white builders as development of the Outlots around the Robertson property at a more rapid pace.[39] Early in the decade, however, at least one free Black family settled in the east Outlots.[40] Henry Green Madison, a free Black man from Tennessee,[41] built a small log cabin (a still-prevalent building type in this part of the city) at present-day 807 East 11th Street in 1863.[42] He operated his shoemaking business on East Pecan (6th) Street between Congress Avenue and Colorado Street.[43] The site of Madison's log cabin house would have been part of the former French Legation property owned by Dr. Joseph Robertson. No evidence has yet been found to reveal that Robertson sold any land to Madison. Although ironic in the face of Texas secession, this intermixture of long-time Outlot owners with

newcomers, especially freed Blacks, was typical in the east Outlots and would become a hallmark of development in the area in the decades to come.

During the Civil War, the state burial ground was again used when several Texas officers killed in engagements were buried there. In 1864 and 1866, the Texas legislature appropriated funds to enclose the graves. For a brief period, the cemetery also housed the remains of Union soldiers. From these early beginnings, the Texas State Cemetery (listed in the National Register) became the burial place for Confederate veterans and their widows, and many prominent Texans.[44]

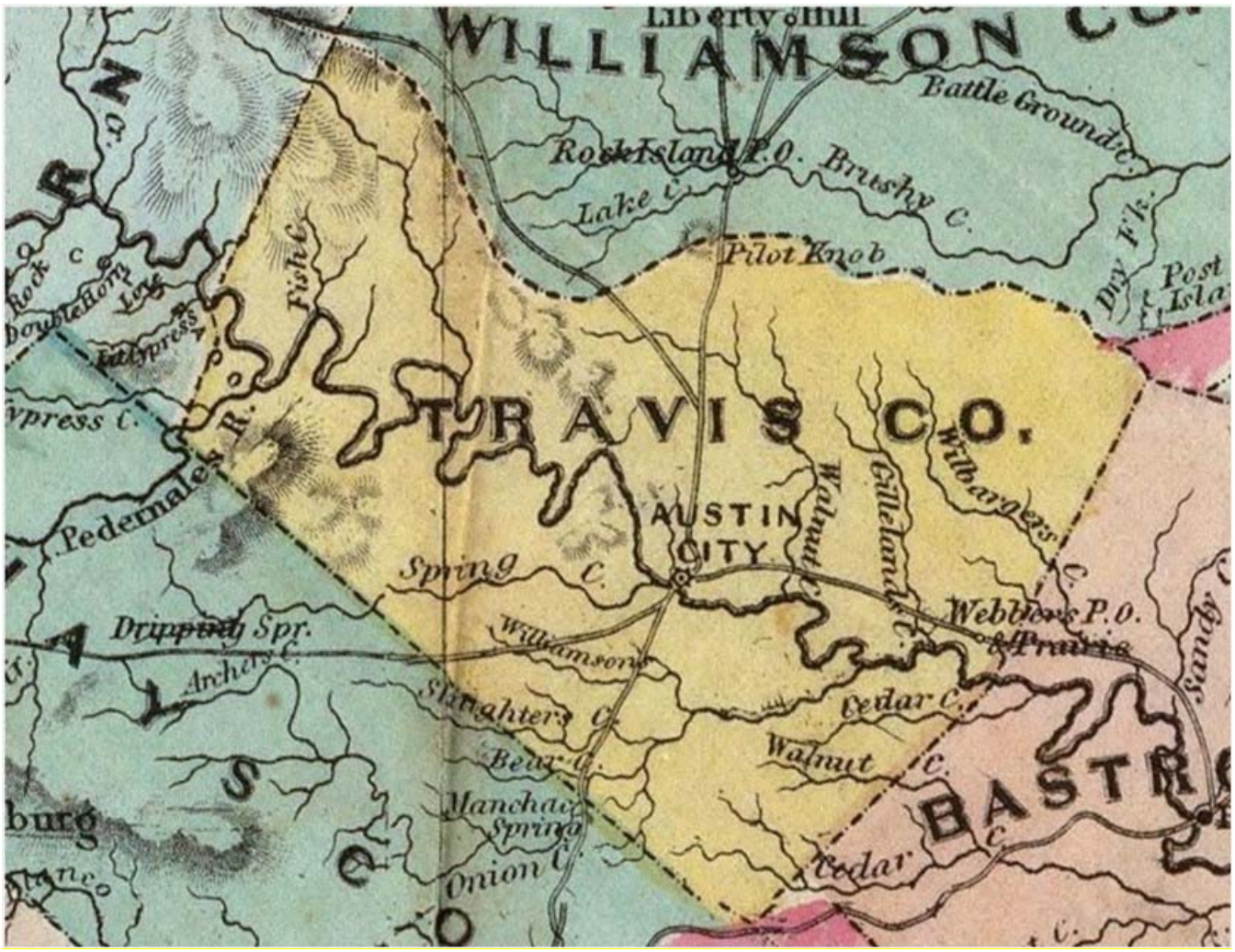

Figure I-5. Detail of Travis County from Jacob de Cordova's *Map of the State of Texas*. 1856. This map depicts early routes extending to Austin during the evolution of the state's road network. The road between Austin and Bastrop, which extended through present-day East Austin, was a particularly critical feature during the mid-1800s because of Bastrop's importance as an agricultural and commercial center during the early years of statehood. Source: David Rumsey Map Collection available from http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~1777~180017:J--De-Cordova-s-Map-Of-The-State-Of.

[1] William H. Sandusky, *A Topographical Map of the Government Tract Adjoining the City of Austin* [map], 1840, copied in 1863 by Robert Reich[el], recopied in 1931 by Waller K. Boggs, map no. 2178, General Map Collection, General Land Office, Austin, Texas.

[2] Martha Doty Freeman and Kenneth Breisch, *Historic Resources of East Austin Multiple Property Nomination*, 1984, Section 7.

[3] City of Austin, *Govalle/Johnson Terrace Combined Neighborhood Plan*, March 27, 2003, p. 16, accessed June 2, 2016, available from ftp://ftp.ci.austin.tx.us/npzd/Austingo/gjt-np.pdf.

[4] Barkley, 55, 56, 57; per various sale records in the Texas General Land Office Land Grant Database, accessed June 3, 2016, available from http://www.glo.texas.gov/history/archives/land-grants/index.cfm.

[5] City of Austin, *Govalle/Johnson Neighborhood Plan*, 16-17; Barkley, 257.

[6] Preservation Central, Inc., *Cultural Resource Survey and Assessment, Southeast Travis County, Texas*, prepared for Texas Historical Commission (October 2014): 11; "Rubin Hancock Farmstead: Life on the Farm," *Texas Beyond History*, accessed May 31, 2016, available from http://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/rubin/index.html#life.

[7] Amaterra Environmental, Inc., *City of Austin Historic Cemeteries Master Plan*, prepared for the City of Austin, (August 2015): 78.

[8] Elisabeth Walton Potter and Beth M. Boland, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places, National Register Bulletin No. 41* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1992), 4.

[9] *Oakwood Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report*, prepared by Laura L. Knott and the School of Architecture Historic Preservation Program Cultural Landscapes Class (Spring 2005): 6, accessed June 1, 2016, http://tclf.org/landscapes/oakwood-cemetery-austin-texas.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Patricia Ann Ross, "My Neighborhood: Undiscovered Heritage," unpublished paper, "Subdivisions-East Austin" Subject File, AF-S6090, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

[13] After receiving his post as *charge d'affaires* to Texas, Dubois began styling himself as a French nobleman, which he was not, and using the name Alphonse de Saligny.

[14] Kenneth Hafertepe, *A History of the French Legation in Texas: Alphonse Dubois de Saligny and his House* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1989), 13; Nancy N. Barker, *The French Legation in Texas,* vol. 2 (Austin: Texas State Historical Association), 1971, 170. Jones purchased the property on February 24, 1840. File 222, Austin City Lots and Outlots Records, Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin, Texas.

[15] Hafertepe, 13.

[16] File 222, Austin City Lots and Outlots Records (AR.30). Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin, Texas.

[17] Hafertepe, 14.

[18] Letter from Alphonse Dubois de Saligny to Louis Adolphe Thiers, November 6, 1840, quoted in Barker, 170.

[19] The house bears a strong resemblance to the two-story capitol in Houston, which Thomas William "Peg Leg" Ward designed in 1837. A native of Ireland and a builder by trade, Ward migrated to Texas by way of New Orleans and is believed to have been influenced by New Orleans's distinctive architecture. For more information, see "Thomas William Ward" in *The Handbook of Texas Online,* https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fwa52.

[20] Barkley, 29–35. The site selection committee had noted the inferiority of wood in Austin and its environs for building: "… the timber for building in the immediate neighborhood is not so fine a character as might be wished, being mostly Cotton wood, Ash Burr Oak, Huckberry, Post Oak and cedar, the last suitable for shingles and small frames."

[21] Hafertepe, 14.

[22] Present-day Washington-on-the-Brazos. Joseph Milton Nance, "Republic of Texas," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 05, 2016, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mzr02; Freeman and Breisch, Section 8. The nomination indicates that the State Cemetery and the City Cemetery and were part of East Austin's development prior to this date, but those sites were not established until 1851 and 1856 respectively.

[23] Barkley, 316.

[24] Barkley, 65, 67.

[25] Ibid, 295. Lamar is known to have written letters from Belle Monte in February 1846 and a letter that Webb wrote from Belle Monte to Lamar is documented from June 1849. See Harriet Smither, ed., *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar*, vol. 6 (Austin: A.C. Baldwin & Sons, printers, 1927), available from https://archive.org/stream/papersofmirabeau06lamarich/papersofmirabeau06lamarich_djvu.txt.

[26] According to Sandusky's 1840 *Topographical Map of the Government Tract*, Webb owned the following: Division A, Outlots 31, 33, 34, 36-39, 43-47, 50-52 and Division B, Outlots 11-13, 60, 63.

[27] Hafertepe, 14.

[28] Ibid., 23, 24.

[29] Robertson held the original patents to: Division A, Outlots 2, 5-6, 16 and 29; Division B, Outlots 55-56; Division O, Outlots 5-8, 15-16, and 21-22. File no. 412, File no. 796, File no. 830 ½, Austin City Lots and Outlots Records, Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin, Texas.

[30] File 386, Austin City Lots and Outlots Records, Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin, Texas.

[31] *Texas State Cemetery* [brochure], accessed June 25, 2016, available from http://www.tspb.texas.gov/plan/brochures/doc/in_print/cemetery_brochure/cemetery_brochure.pdf.

[32] Ibid.; Texas State Legislature, *Journal of the Senate of the State of Texas, Fourth Legislature* (Austin: Cushney & Hampton, 1982), 215.

[33] Texas State Legislature, 460-461.

[34] Dick O'Dennehy, "The Other Montopolis."

[35] Barkley, 267.

[36] Ibid., 93-94. According to Barkley, Hamilton's home "Fair Oaks" was still standing in a grove of oak trees east of Rosewood Park in 1963. The location of Hamilton's home in East Austin is also mentioned in *And Grace Will Lead Me Home: African American Freedmen Communities of Austin, Texas, 1865-1928* by Michelle M. Mears (Lubbock: Texas Tech University press, 2009), 26-27.

[37] Texas State Cemetery, "History of the Texas State Cemetery," accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.cemetery.state.tx.us/history.asp; Mary J. Highsmith, "Lipscomb, Abner Smith," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fli14.

[38] Amaterra Environmental, Inc., 78.

[39] Preservation Central, Inc., *East Austin Historic Sites Inventory Survey Report*, prepared for Travis County Historical Commission, (October 2006): 7; French Legation Museum, "Robertson Hill," accessed May 24, 2016, available from http://frenchlegationmuseum.org/?page_id=38.

[40] In this document, when "Black" is used as a cultural or ethnic descriptor, the word will be capitalized.

[41] R. Matt Abigail, "Madison, Henry Green," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 5, 2016, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmaek.

[42] Ibid.

[43] S. A. Gray and W. D. Moore, *Mercantile and General City Directory of Austin, Texas – 1872-1873* (Austin: S. A. Gray, 1872), accessed June 17, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth38126/. Available through University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Austin History Center, Austin Public Library.

[44] Andrew Forest Muir, "State Cemetery," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 5, 2016, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/les02.

2.3. Post-Civil War Development, 1866–1876

In the decade after the Civil War, development pressures grew to reach Outlots beyond East Avenue, as a mixed population of longstanding and recently-arrived Anglos, European immigrants, and African Americans moved to Austin and settled in the area. Urban expansion outside of the original townsite due to European immigration and the influx of African Americans displaced after the Civil War was a trend seen throughout Texas. Austin was no exception.[1] The Outlots on the city's east side were favored partly due to their proximity to the city's governmental and commercial core. This advantage spurred the development of freedmen communities and subdivisions in many areas near the east side. The Outlots' still-rural quality and access to routes like the Austin-to-Bastrop Road also made them an ideal area for the trajectory of railroad lines into the city. The instigation of rail service contributed to light industrial and residential growth, and laid the groundwork for neighborhood divisions and patterns of development present today.

2.3.1 RECONSTRUCTION-ERA DEMOGRAPHICS IN THE EAST AUSTIN OUTLOTS

In the 1870s, East Austin accommodated African American freedmen, as well as already present or newly arrived immigrants. According to the 1870 U.S. Federal Census, approximately 38 percent of Austin's population was "colored," while approximately 11 percent was "foreign born" (see *Table I-2* and *figure I-6*). In this era, most foreign-born immigrants in Austin as a whole came from Germany or Sweden, as well as from Mexico. Data from the 1870 census is not differentiated according to geographic areas within Austin, but extant resources within East Austin from 1866 through 1876 document the presence of German,[2] Irish,[3] and Swedish immigrants, as well as African American freedmen.

Table I-2. Demographic Changes in Austin from 1860 through 1880.

Year	Total Population			White			Black			Foreign Born		
	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total
1880	11,013	148.7	100.0	7,407	163.3	67.26	3,587	122.1	32.57	1,385	124.8	12.58
1870	4,428	26.7	100.0	2,813	12.3	63.53	1,615	163.3	36.47	616	N/A	13.91
1860	3,494	N/A	100.0	2,505	N/A	71.69	989	N/A	28.31	-	-	-

Note that this data is for the City of Austin as a whole. Also note that the U.S. Census did not differentiate between Hispanic and non-Hispanic whites until the 1970s. Source: U.S. Census, Selected Historical Decennial Census Population and Housing Counts, accessed August 10, 2016, https://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html.

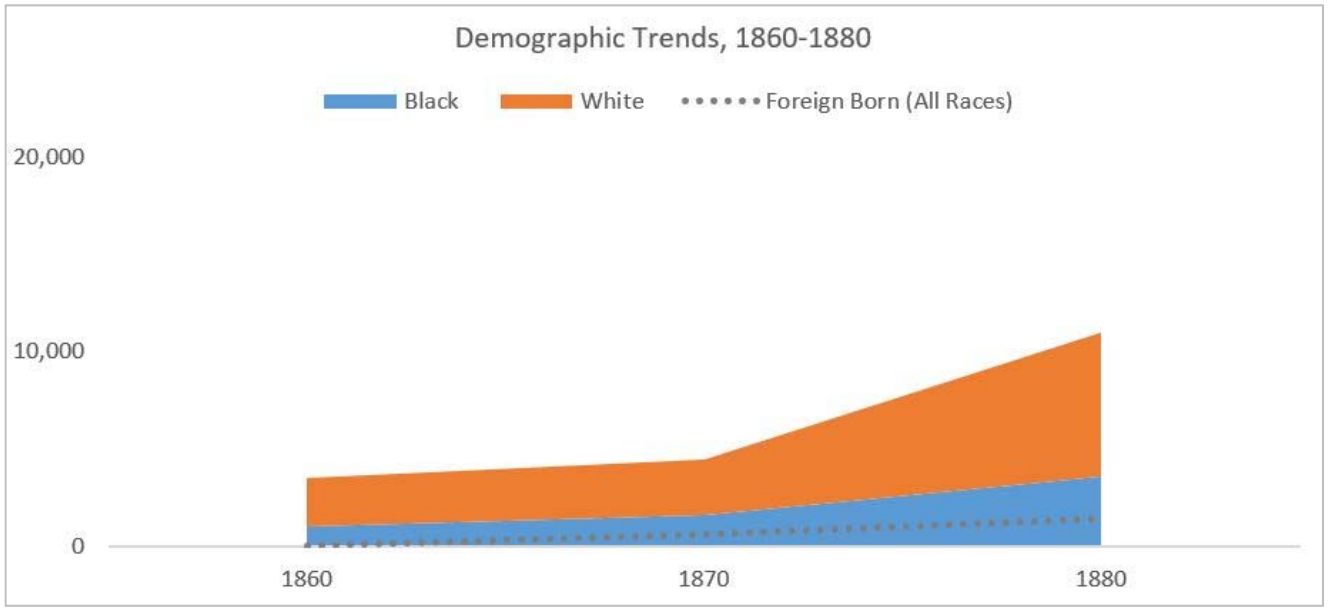

Figure I-6. Graph depicting demographic changes in Austin from 1860 through 1880. Note that this data is for the City of Austin as a whole. Source: U.S. Census, Selected Historical Decennial Census Population and Housing Counts; Table 32, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States" and Table 5, "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-born Population of the United States," https://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html, accessed June 16, 2016.

Note that the U.S. Census did not differentiate between Hispanic and non-Hispanic whites until the 1970s. In addition, note that the Introduction to Table 32 clarifies the definition of "black" as follows: "The racial categories used in the decennial census have reflected social usage rather than an attempt to define race biologically or genetically … In 1950, an attempt was made for the first time (and with limited success) to identify individuals of mixed American Indian, Black, and White ancestry living in certain communities in the eastern United States. At the same time, the only Asian and Pacific Islander categories identified separately in 1950 census reports were Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino. Other individuals who were Asian and Pacific Islanders and individuals of mixed American Indian, Black, and White ancestry were grouped together as 'Other race.' In both 1950 and 1960, the population in the Other race category was less than 0.1 percent of the total population."

2.3.1.1. African American Settlement in the Austin Outlots

African Americans who moved to Austin in large numbers during the Reconstruction Era sought education and economic opportunities as well as the protection of federal troops.[4] In contrast to the majority of communities established by freedmen nationwide and throughout Texas, those established in Divisions A, B, and O were not on the far edges of town or in areas less desired by whites; many freedmen communities developed in relatively central locations. Many of the freedmen who lived in Austin prior to Emancipation chose to remain. Others came to Austin from rural Central Texas farms and plantations to take advantage of new economic opportunities, and settled in the Outlots. The proximity of the communities they established to downtown enabled many freedmen to be independent and live near work places and secure low-paying jobs as laborers, domestic servants, janitors, hostlers, carpenters, and porters.[5] Many of the freedmen who lived in Austin prior to Emancipation chose to remain. Others came to Austin from rural Central Texas farms and plantations to take advantage of new economic opportunities, and settled in the Outlots. The proximity of these communities to downtown enabled many freedmen to live near work places as they secured low-paying jobs as laborers, domestic servants, janitors, hostlers,

carpenters, and porters.[6] Many local freedmen during Reconstruction, for example, worked at the state capitol.[7] Also, the Outlots provided freedmen the opportunity to live in a semi-rural area with good roads that gave them access to amenities in the city, but also connected them to work opportunities in rural areas to the east for day labor or rent farming,[8] a form of tenant farming whereby tenant farmers rented the land they work and provided their own animals and tools.[9]

Prominent politicians Edmund J. Davis and Andrew J. Hamilton supported property rights of freedmen in Texas.[10] Both Unionists, Davis and Jackson promoted rights for African Americans in postwar Texas. Hamilton served as provisional governor from June 1865 to summer 1866, but was defeated by Davis in the 1869 election for Texas governor.[11] In opposition to President Andrew Johnson's plans for Reconstruction, Davis was "convinced that only black suffrage would sustain loyal governments in the South."[12] He advocated civil rights for emancipated African Americans and continued to do so as governor of Texas. One of Davis's accomplishments during his often controversial four-year term (1870–1874) was the inclusion of Black officers in the local police force and other government positions. It was Davis who appointed Black men Henry Madison Green (see *Section 2.2.4*) and David Willis as city aldermen in 1871 and 1872, respectively.[13]

Surrounding the area where Madison had established his residence in 1863, African Americans developed the first freedmen community in the Outlots by 1865 in the area bound by present-day IH-35 frontage road and East 10th, East 11th, and San Marcos Streets. Initially, this community was likely little more than a squatter's camp consisting primarily of tents and shacks that developed immediately after the Civil War.[14] Just north of the former French Legation, this land would have been part of the Robertson "plantation." Historians have suggested that former Robertson slaves inhabited this locale.[15] Due to a branch of the flood-prone Waller Creek running through the area, the community lived under unsafe and unsanitary conditions.[16] However, because of its location on a high hill offering unobstructed views of the city and Colorado River to west and south, the community became known as Pleasant Hill by the early 1870s.

Masontown, bound by present-day East 6th, East 3rd, Waller and Chicon Streets, was established when brothers Raiford Mason and Samuel Mason, Jr. purchased portions of Outlots 3–6 and 19–22 of Division O in 1867 (the area bound by present-day Waller, East 5th, Chicon, and Cesar Chavez Streets).[17] This transaction appears to be the first of many sales made to African Americans in the Outlots. The Robertsons sold parcels of their property in Divisions B and O to generate income after the devastation to the plantation economy caused by the Civil War.[18] African Americans were among those who purchased many of the lots. As a result, whether intentional or not, the Robertsons contributed to the creation of a tightly-knit community of freed African American slaves that became known as Robertson Hill (bound by present-day IH-35 Frontage Road, and East 11th, Navasota, and East 12th Streets).[19] The first lot that Dr. Robertson sold in 1869 was to freedman Malick

Wilson on December 26, 1869.[20] This transaction pre-dated the Robertson family's formal subdivision of the area six years later.

With the establishment of communities like Pleasant Hill, Masontown, and Robertson Hill, Austin's African American population rose 57 percent in the 1860s.[21]

2.3.2. GROWTH AND LAND-USE PATTERNS

Austin's population growth, freedmen settlement, the influx of European immigrants to the city, and the development of transportation infrastructure throughout the decade following the Civil War all encouraged greater and more formal development of property within the Outlots on the town's east side. As originally conceived, the Outlots provided the framework for future city expansion and functioned, in a sense, as a blueprint that guided growth and development. The increased number of people who moved to the east side of town spurred the creation of new subdivisions within the Outlots in the vicinity of or encompassing lots previously established freedmen communities. The trend witnessed the portioning of larger parcels and tracts of land into smaller lots under new and legally sanctioned subdivisions and additions. Plat maps filed at the Travis County Courthouse depict this land-use pattern, as depicted in *figure I-7.*

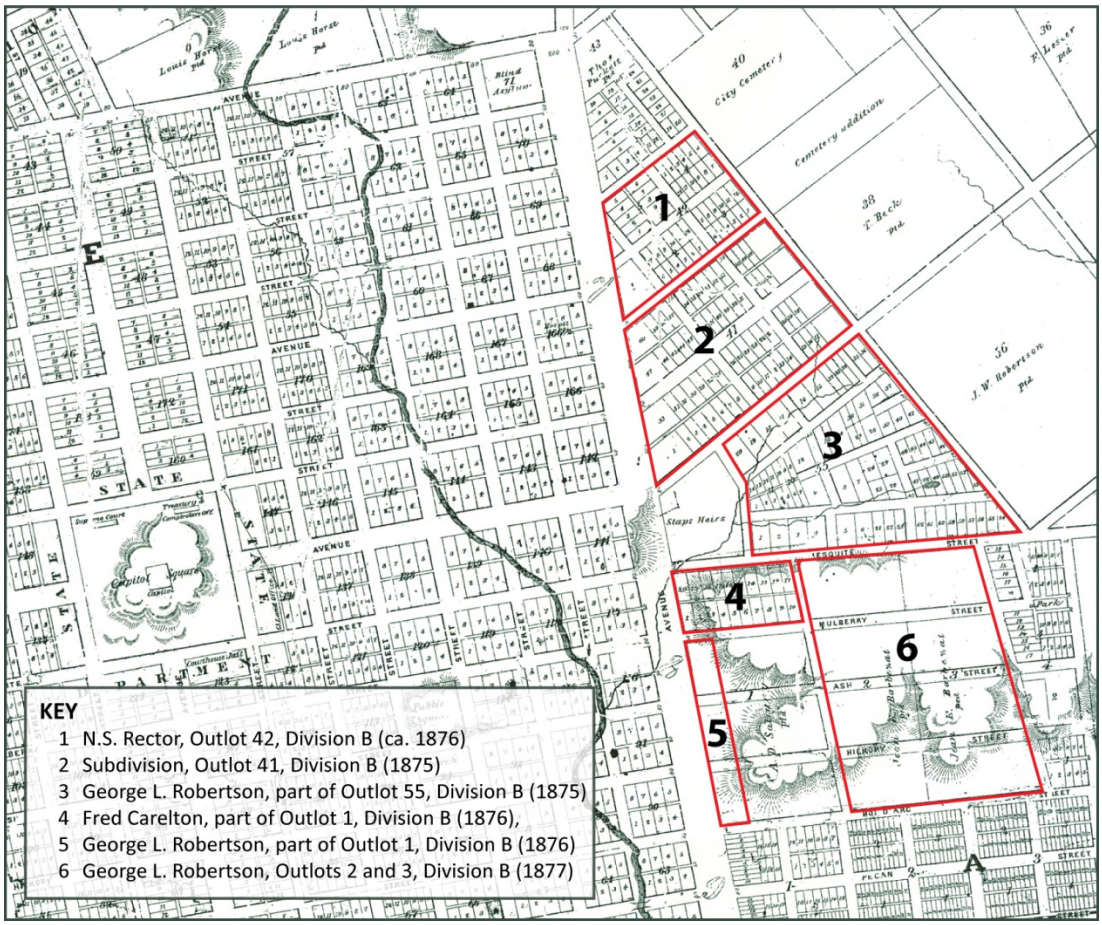

Figure I-7. Louis Klappenbach, *Map of the City of Austin* (detail), 1876. Overlay depicts the relationship of subdivisions to the original plan for the outlots. Source: Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas. Overlay by HHM.

The area's growing popularity benefited from its proximity and ease of access to an improved transportation infrastructure. In 1870, for example, the East Austin Bridge opened on Waller Creek (between present-day Sabine Street and East Avenue) serving as a link between Austin's central business district and the areas beyond East Avenue.[22] The subsequent arrival of the railroad and improved road network in the 1870s, however, encouraged the creation of even more subdivisions with ready access to transportation networks.[23]

Another land-use trend in the east Outlots that began in the Reconstruction era was the establishment of schools. The Govalle School was one of the first, opening in 1870 in Division A, Outlot 23 (at the northwest corner of present-day East 7th and Pedernales Streets). This far-eastern school served the children of Govalle, a rural area of farms and ranches that lay outside the limits of the East Austin survey area. Additional schools opened later in the 1880s (see *Section 2.4.2.2*).

2.3.2.1. The Arrival of the Railroad, 1871

On December 7, 1871, the Houston and Texas Central (H&TC) Railway was completed into Austin from Brenham through the Outlots on the east side. The rail line extended along the preexisting right-of-way that would have extended from present-day East 5th Street. This path began at a point near East Avenue and Pine Street downtown and continued along the dividing line between Divisions A and O. The construction of the railroad tracks along this route further acknowledges the continued relevance of the Sandusky Plan of 1840.[24] Many of the freedmen who lived in the area soon began to work for the railroad. For example, James Grumbles, the son of a free Black woman brought to Austin by Alexander J. Hamilton, recalls working on the railroad bed for a dollar-and-a-half per day.[25] The rail workers were charged 50 cents a day for room and board, likely in buildings in the project area.[26] The H&TC depot grounds encompassed a wide swath of land from East Avenue to present-day Navasota Street, occupying the northern halves of Outlots 1–3 in Division O. The placement of the depot and associated facilities and grounds took a chunk out of the northwest corner of Masontown. The Masontown community continued to prosper, however. In 1871, African Americans Sam and Nancy Wilson purchased property, where they resided and opened a grocery on East 4th Street (present-day site of the Scoot Inn at 1308 East 4th Street).[27] The 1872–73 Austin City Directory notes, however, that the Mason brothers lived near the H&TC freight depot, which was located near the intersection of East Pine/5th and San Marcos Streets.[28]

Following the railroad's arrival, development in the Outlots mostly occurred along the eastern extensions of Pine (5th), Pecan (6th), Bois d'Arc (7th), Mesquite (11th), and College (12th) Streets. While not present on the 1840 Sandusky map, the Pecan (East 6th) Street extension beyond East Avenue likely was opened after the arrival of the railroad to facilitate land speculation and development in the vicinity.[29] One of the first subdivisions was the Stuart and Mair Subdivision platted in Division B, Outlot 4 by local entrepreneurs.[30]

A bird's-eye view of Austin drawn in 1873 by Augustus Koch provides an early depiction of a large segment of Outlots on the near east side within a decade after the Civil War (*figure I-8*).

Figure I-8. Detail of the 1873 *Bird's Eye View of the City of Austin*. The map shows development expanding into areas beyond East Avenue. Most of the development centered around the H&TC railroad and its depot; however, the map also shows a grouping of dwellings in the Pleasant Hill area, along East 11th and 12th Streets. Source: Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas, crediting the Amon Carter Museum.

Koch's drawing shows that in most areas, development was limited to within a few blocks east of East Avenue, with the exception of the area around the railroad. To the north, a lone residence sat in the fork between East Avenue and a then-unnamed road (present-day Red River Street). The beginnings of several roads—East Cherry (16th) Street, East North Avenue (15th), and East Walnut (14th) Street—and the modest houses scattered among them are visible west of the City Cemetery in Koch's drawing. Further south, a few houses are also present at the beginnings of East College (12th) Street. The freedmen settlement in Pleasant Hill is clearly visible with numerous houses between East Mulberry (10th) and Mesquite (11th) Streets and the alley between them. A few houses are scattered facing East Avenue from the City Cemetery to the Robertson "plantation" (former French Legation), which is depicted on its hill along with several outbuildings. Curving around the Robertson property, East Bois d'Arc (7th) and San Marcos Streets are not defined following Sandusky's orthogonal plan. By 1873, the most concentrated development in the Outlots is along Bois d'Arc (7th), Pecan (6th), Pine (5th), and Cedar (4th) Streets in the vicinity of the H&TC rail yard, with a small concentration of commercial buildings facing East Avenue and Pine Street. South of Cedar (4th) Street is a dense development of commercial and

residential buildings in several lots that were later part of formal subdivisions; south of this area, east–west streets had not yet opened.

By 1874, growth in the Outlots spurred more development at the northern edge of the East Austin project area as well as additional extensions from the existing street network: East Chestnut (18th) and East Magnolia (Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard [MLK]) Streets. Newly named thoroughfares, including San Marcos and San Bernard Streets, also came with the extension of the city's corporate boundaries.[31] In the *Daily Democratic Statesman* on October 20, 1874, the newspaper article's author noted:

> We yesterday had the pleasure of a ride with Alderman Robinson…we visited East Avenue, the extreme eastern limit of the city, and at each place found some credible improvements had been made to the streets of the city. At Masontown, considerable grading has been done, and it is probable that the colored people there will have no complaints to make hereafter about being inundated…. The bug mudhole in Chalmers Lane has also been drained."[32]

In 1875, the cost of property in the eastern Outlots was recorded in property sale advertisements. A six-acre Outlot with a four-room house, cistern, and garden across from the Blind Asylum (in the vicinity of present-day East 16th Street and East MLK, adjacent to the Oakwood Cemetery) cost $6,000.[33] Property owners and land speculation companies established a number of subdivisions in the east Outlots in the late 1870s. All of these subdivisions followed the layout and organizational pattern set out in the 1840 Sandusky plan and are present in the 1876 *Map of the City of Austin* drawn by Louis Klappenbach. Klappenbach's map (reference *figure I-7*) illustrates how property within the Outlots was subdivided and replatted within the framework of Sandusky's plan.

2.3.2.2. Residential Settlement Patterns

The new neighborhoods subdivided in the 1870s accommodated already present or newly arrived immigrants and freedmen in the Austin Outlots. In general, African Americans who moved to the east side of town continued to settle in the freedmen communities of Pleasant Hill, Masontown, and the new Robertson Hill. These areas offered African Americans safety on high ground, as many had previously lived in the area west of downtown that was flooded by Waller Creek in 1869.[34] In his history of African Americans, historian John Mason Brewer notes, "With the interim of serfdom ended, the Negro set about to establish himself as an 'owner of property' instead of 'property owned.' Most of the liberated Negros had small or large tracts of land."[35] While white Austinites purchased parcels on speculation during this time period, African Americans purchased one- or two-acre parcels, keeping a lot for construction of their own homes and subdividing others for resale to relatives or church members.[36] Families like that of Andrew and Lucy Jackson became neighbors of Malick Wilson in Robertson Hill when they purchased a lot at the corner of 11th and Curve Streets in 1870.[37] Eliza Bell, a former employee of the Robertson family, purchased a parcel from them; she built a house at 1012 Juniper Street, and then sold surrounding land to other African Americans. While most freedmen who settled in East Austin likely were

renters, property ownership had become a reality for individuals who worked as teachers, seamstresses, laundresses, housekeepers, ministers, cooks, hostlers, janitors, porters (railroad and private), and railroad and agricultural laborers or in any number of building trades.[38] East Austin was close in proximity to the downtown core where many of these individuals would have been employed. Jobs as servants in the homes of European immigrants, who settled in the Outlots and created their own post-Civil War subdivisions, also proved an enticement for African Americans to settle in the east Outlots.[39]

In particular, the east Outlots became home to many German and Swedish immigrants, as well as Italian immigrants. Proximity to amenities as well as businesses that many of these individuals owned in the commercial core was appealing to European newcomers. For example, a native of Germany, Rudolph Bertram, came to Austin in 1853 and began a trading post. From his commercial endeavors downtown, Bertram achieved the means to purchase property; he built a two-story limestone home in the eastern Outlots in 1875.[40] The house survives at its location in Rosewood Park, where it serves as a recreation center (shown in *figure I-9*). Like Bertram, other European immigrants lived scattered throughout the Outlots, although some created concentrated ethnic neighborhoods.

Figure I-9. Bertram house, located at 2300 Rosewood Avenue. The house meets the criteria for local landmark designation and individual listing in the National Register. Photo by HHM, 2016.

One early European enclave of note was that of Swede (or Swedish) Hill. Established in the mid-1870s, this neighborhood became home to most of the city's Swedish population, but it also contained a few German families.[41] Swede Hill extended across East Avenue and was roughly bound by Waller, East College (East 12th), and Red River Streets, and North Avenue (15th Street).[42] North of Swede Hill, another enclave of immigrants settled what was later known as the "Winn Community" (see *Section 2.4.2.1.1* for additional information on the Winn Community). It extended over an area roughly bound by present-day North IH-35 Frontage Road, Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard, Chestnut Street, and Manor Road. Its beginnings date to 1876 when Charles Alff, a German immigrant, purchased land for 35 cents an acre.[43] Both Swede Hill and the Winn Community were further developed in subsequent years.

2.3.2.3. Religious Institutions

Although no religious institutions constructed between 1866 and 1876 remain extant in East Austin today, a number of religious institutions are rooted in the era. Maps from the era do not clearly depict churches in East Austin, and it is likely that the European immigrant population living East Austin largely worshiped at churches in Central Austin rather than constructing churches in East Austin. However, in the mid-1870s, the growing number of African Americans in the Outlots led to the establishment of several religious institutions, a trend that continued in the development of the eastern Outlots through the twentieth century. Immediately after Emancipation, freedmen conducted religious camp meetings in undeveloped fields in the Outlots. In its August 25, 1875 issue, the *Daily Democratic Statesman* notes freedmen having a camp service at Limerick Field south of the City Cemetery.[44] Around the same time as the camp services held at Limerick Field, another group of African Americans organized Ebenezer (Third) Baptist Church in the home of Mrs. Eliza Hawkins at 1104 East Mulberry (10th) Street.[45] Hawkins's home was an example of a home built in a community of free African Americans before the area in which it stood was formally subdivided. In 1876, another group founded the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church in the home of Mrs. Tempie Washington on East Bois d'Arc (7th) Street. The first buildings of these early African American congregations were not located in the eastern Outlots, but that trend changed over the next few decades, as Austin's African American population grew even larger.

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[1] Jane Manaster, *The Ethnic Geography of Austin 1875-1910* (master's thesis, The University of Texas at Austin, May 1986), 5.

[2] "German American Ladies College," National Register of Historic Places, accessed August 10, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/13000601.htm.

[3] Aparna Suhas Surte, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Limerick-Frazier House* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2004); from the Texas Historical Commission, accessed August 10, 2016, ftp://ftp.thc.state.tx.us/nr_program/Austin,%20Limerick-Frazier%20House%20NR.pdf. Irish immigrant stonemason Joseph Limerick, who purchased property including lot numbers 42 and 43 in the Subdivision of Outlot 41 in Division B in 1876. He constructed a house on the property at 810 East 13th Street but never lived there, residing instead on East College (12th) Street in the Subdivision of Outlot 41 in Division B. Limerick's house still stands today. It is an example of a late-nineteenth-century I-house, a vernacular form with a side-gabled roof that is at least two rooms wide, one room deep, and two stories in height. Limerick Field—the future location of religious camp services among freedmen—likely was located on or near this property.

[4] Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., *Historic Resources Survey of East Austin*, revised December 2000, 65.

[5] Thad Sitton and James H. Conrad, *Freedom Colonies: Independent Black Texans in the Time of Jim Crow* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 33.

[6] Thad Sitton and James H. Conrad, *Freedom Colonies: Independent Black Texans in the Time of Jim Crow* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 33.

[7] John Mason Brewer, *An Historical Outline of the Negro in Travis County* (Travis County Historical Commission, 1940), 18.

[8] Sitton and Conrad, 33.

[9] Unlike sharecroppers who borrowed everything, "Tenant farmers usually paid the landowner rent for farmland and a house. They owned the crops they planted and made their own decisions about them. After harvesting the crop, the tenant sold it and received income from it. From that income, he paid the landowner the amount of rent owed." North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources/Office of Archives and History, "Sharecropping and tenant farming," accessed June 27, 2016, http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-newsouth/4698,.

[10] James Pinkerton, "Struggle of blacks traced in Austin history," *Austin American-Statesman*, October 7, 1984: A12, "Subdivisions-East Austin," Subject File, AF-S6090, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas. The article states that Davis and Jackson offered inexpensive land for sale in the Austin Outlots to freedmen.

[11] Mary Starr Barkley, *History of Travis County and Austin, 1839-1899* (Waco: Library Binding Co., 1963), 100, 101; Richard Zuczek, ed., "Davis, Edmund J. (1827-1883)," *Reconstruction: A Historical Encyclopedia of the American Mosaic* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2015), 87.

[12] Zuczek, 87.

[13] Barkley, 109; S. A. Gray and W. D. Moore, *Mercantile and General City Directory of Austin, Texas---1872-1873* (Austin: 1872), 18, texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth38126/, accessed June 17, 2016, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Austin History Center, Austin Public Library.

[14] Michelle M. Mears, *And Grace Will Lead Me Home: African American Freedmen Communities of Austin, Texas, 1865-1928* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2009), 27.

[15] Preservation Central, Inc., *East Austin Historic Sites Inventory*, report prepared for Travis County Historical Commission, October 2006, 7.

[16] Mears, 11.

[17] Martha Doty Freeman and Kenneth Breisch, *Historic Resources of East Austin Multiple Property Nomination*, 1984, Section 8, 1; Mears, 31. This property was in Division O, Lot 4, originally patented to Moore & Blessing.

[18] Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., *Interstate Highway Corridor, Austin, Travis County, Texas, Historic Resources Investigations Intensive-Level Survey, Segment 2 Study Area: East Seventh Street to Manor Road*, prepared for Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, 2004, II-4.

[19] Kahron Spearman, "We're Still Here: Assessing the continuing black Austin experience," *The Austin Chronicle*, January 8, 2016, available from http://www.austinchronicle.com/news/2016-01-08/we-re-still-here/. Historically, the neighborhood has also been referred to as "Robinson Hill." Both the names "Robertson Hill" and "Robinson Hill" have been used interchangeably in historic sources since the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

[20] Preservation Central, Inc., *East Austin Historic Sites Inventory*, 7. Neither the 1872-1873 nor 1877-1878 city directories list a Malick Wilson. The former, however, has an Albert Wilson that lives on Mesquite (East 11th) Street on Robinson Hill.

[21] David C. Humphrey, "Austin, TX (Travis County)," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed March 21, 2016, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hda03.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., *Segment 2*, II-5.

[25] James Grumbles, Texas Slave Narrative, from *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 25, 2016, http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~ewyatt/_borders/Texas%20Slave%20Narratives/Texas%20G/Grumbles,%20James.html.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Historic Scoot Inn, "About Us," accessed July 27, 2016, http://scootinnaustin.com/about-us.

[28] Gray and Moore, 74; Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., *Interstate Highway Corridor, Austin, Travis County, Texas, Historic Resources Investigations Intensive-Level Survey,* prepared for Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, 2004, 12.

[29] Preservation Central, Inc., 8.

[30] Freeman & Breisch, Section 1, 1.

[31] Barkley, 114.

[32] Pinkerton, A12.

[33] Manaster, 43.

[34] Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., *Historic Resources Survey of East Austin*, 83.

[35] Brewer, 19-20.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Michelle M. Mears, *African American Settlement Patterns in Austin, Texas, 1865-1928*, master's thesis, Baylor University, 2001, 45.

[38] Ibid., 47, 59.

[39] Pinkerton, A11.

[40] Michael Barnes, "Untold Stories: A cabin in the park," accessed June 5, 2016, http://www.austin360.com/news/lifestyles/recreation/untold-stories-a-cabin-in-the-park-2/nRzdf/.

[41] Manaster, 66.

[42] Swede Hill Neighborhood Association, "History," accessed June 22, 2016, http://www.swedehill.org/history.html.

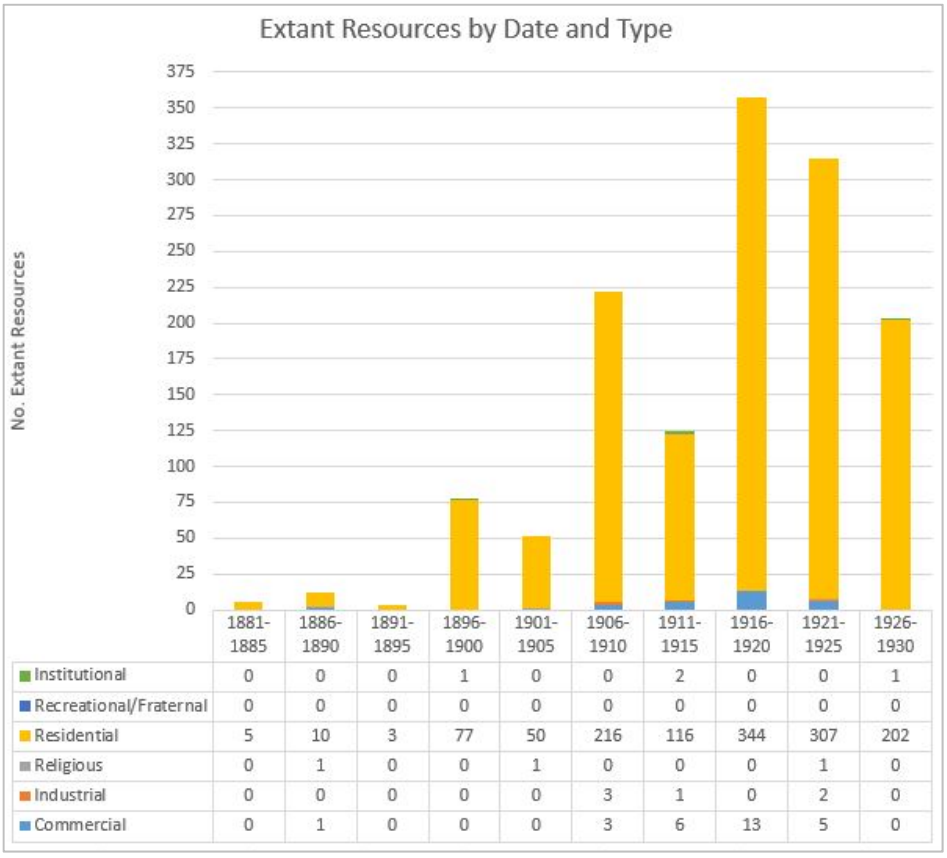
[43] Cherry Jane Gray, "History of the Winn Area (1876 to 1966)," unpublished paper, "Subdivisions-East Austin," Subject File, AF-S6090, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

[44] *Daily Democratic Statesman*, August 24, 1875, August 25, 1875, "African Americans, Folder 1" Subject File, AF-1300, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas. *Refer to endnote 2 for additional information regarding Limerick Field.*

[45] Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Austin Alumnae Chapter, *A Pictorial History of Austin, Travis County, Texas' Black Community, 1839-1920* (Austin: Delta Sigma Theta, ca. 1972), 13.

2.4. Continued Growth and Rising Segregation, 1877–1928

After Reconstruction, rapid settlement in and growth of the East Austin Outlots became the commonplace, as Anglos, Europeans, and African Americans moved to the area. These different ethnic groups typically settled into their own neighborhoods, although they lived in proximity to one another.[1] Around the turn of the century, some white residents in the Outlots began to relocate to other newly developing areas of the city, making land and resources available to African Americans who continued to place roots in the east Outlots. As early as the 1880s, most Mexicans and Mexican Americans moving to Austin settled in the "Old Mexico" neighborhood in the southwestern part of Austin, near the present-day Seaholm Power Plant and the warehouse district.[2] For various reasons, the 1920s also saw an increasing Hispanic presence in the East Austin project area. As the decade drew to a close, both African Americans and Mexican Americans lived in significant numbers in the east Outlots, which included concentrations of supporting residential, commercial, and cultural resources. During this period, residential construction boomed in tandem with the significant population growth in East Austin. Considerable numbers of extant residential buildings testify to that trend, as shown in *Table I-3*. The larger numbers of extant resources of all types from the mid-1910s to 1925 also indicates the population growth in the East Austin project area at large.



	1881-1885	1886-1890	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1915	1916-1920	1921-1925	1926-1930
Institutional	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1
Recreational/Fraternal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Residential	5	10	3	77	50	216	116	344	307	202
Religious	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Industrial	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	2	0
Commercial	0	1	0	0	0	3	6	13	5	0

Table I-3. Graph depicting trends in the construction dates of extant resources within the East Austin Historic Resources Survey boundaries. As the graph indicates, the pace of construction was quickest from 1916–1925. During each time period, residential construction accounted for the vast majority of construction. Note that this data does not account for resources that were constructed during these time frames but later demolished. Source: HHM survey data, 2016.

2.4.1. DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

2.4.1.1. Population Trends

Although the precise composition of the East Austin survey area is difficult discern, U.S. census records document that, for the city of Austin as a whole, between 1880 and 1920 the overall population of grew dramatically, as illustrated by *Table I-4* below, as well as *figure I-10* (on the following page). Austin's native-born White population grew at the most rapid pace, and the native-white population remained a significant part of East Austin's demographic during this period. Even within the freedmen community of Masontown, for example, a number of White occupants remained listed in the 1905 City Directory. At the same time, African Americans continued to arrive in Austin and the east Outlots after Reconstruction, many of whom relocated from rural areas throughout Central Texas, while many others moved from other areas within Austin. The percentage of foreign-born Austinites remained relatively constant. European immigrants from Sweden, Germany, and Italy continued to settle in East Austin, but immigrants from Mexico accounted for an increasing component of the immigrant population, with an especially significant spike in immigration from Mexico ca. 1910.[3]

Table I-4. Demographic Changes in Austin from 1880 through 1920.

Year	Total Population			White			Black			Foreign Born		
	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total
1920	34,876	16.8	100	27,928	24.9	80.08	6,921	-7.4	19.8	2,562	4.4	7.3
1910	29,860	34.2	100	22,366	36.3	74.90	7,478	28.4	25.0	2,455	16.2	8.2
1900	22,258	52.7	100	16,414	49.8	73.74	5,822	61.3	26.2	2,112	14.9	9.5
1890	14,575	32.3	100	10,956	47.9	75.17	3,610	0.6	24.8	1,838	32.7	12.6
1880	11,013	N/A	100	7,407	N/A	67.26	3,587	N/A	32.6	1,385	N/A	12.6

Note that this data is for the City of Austin as a whole. Also note that the U.S. Census did not differentiate between Hispanic and non-Hispanic whites until the 1970s. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Selected Historical Decennial Census Population and Housing Counts, accessed August 10, 2016, https://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html.

Between 1877 and 1900, the Austin's Black population grew more slowly than the general population, and by 1910, it began to decline, due to economic factors as well as Jim Crow policies (*Figure I-10*). Still, Austin was among multiple urban areas in the North, Midwest, West, and Southwest where African Americans moved, leaving the rural South during the Reconstruction Era and the Great Migration.[4] Since the need for day-laborers on farms was often seasonal, many African Americans chose to live in Austin, which offered more regular job opportunities.[5] Meanwhile, the rural day labor tradition endured, and many of East Austin's laborers commuted seasonally to the farmlands in east Travis County. The proximity of East Austin to agricultural fields may have contributed to a greater concentration of African Americans in that part of the city.

Among the many African American families and individuals who moved from rural Central Texas were Tempe and Bess Elgin. They were farm day-laborers in Bastrop and moved to a house at 1616 East 3rd Street at Masontown's southern edge in 1882. (The home is no longer extant; it was located on the

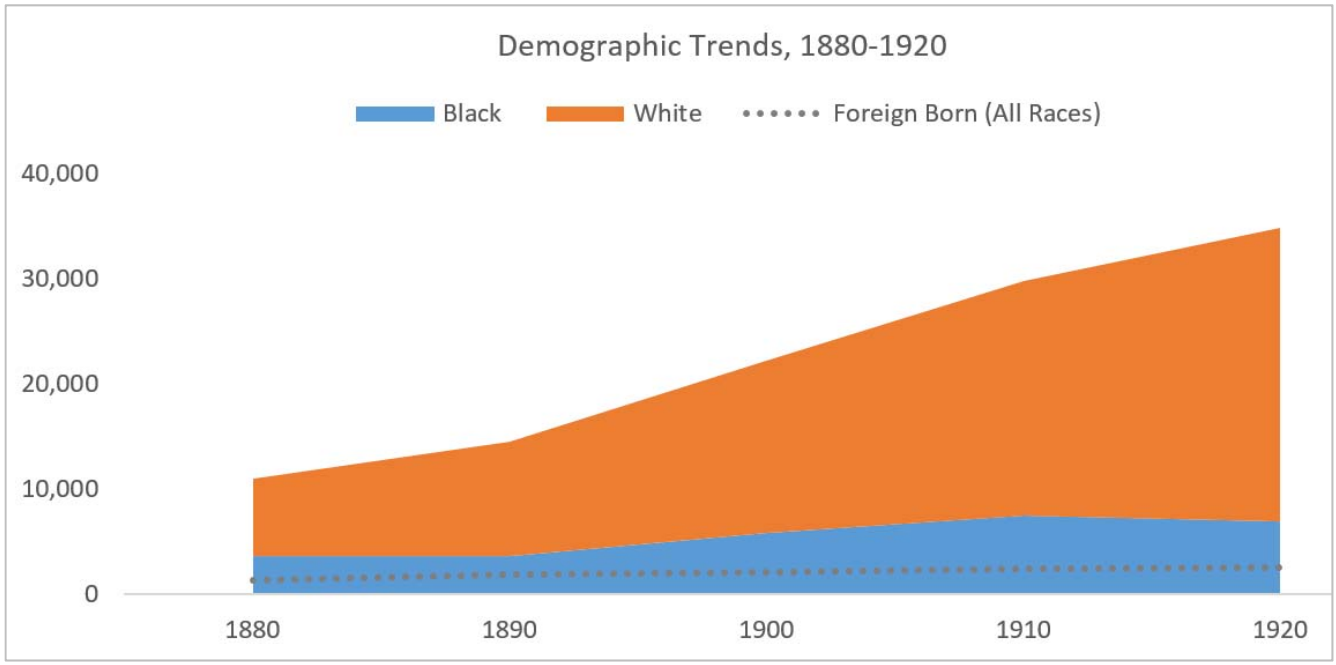


Figure I-10. Graph depicting demographic changes in Austin from 1880 through 1920. Note that this data is for the City of Austin as a whole. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Selected Historical Decennial Census Population and Housing Counts, Table 32, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States" and Table 5, "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-born Population of the United States," https://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html, accessed June 16, 2016. Refer to Figure I-6 in Section I.2.3 for additional background regarding the lack of differentiation of non-Hispanic Whites, as well as the definition of the "Black" demographic.

present site of Chalmers Courts). The Elgins paid off their home by picking cotton from August to November, but Bess also worked as household laborer for the rest of the year as a supplemental means of income.[6] In another example, the family of former slave Ransom Williams left their farmstead in southwest Travis County after Williams died in 1901. His wife Sarah moved into East Austin with their two youngest children.[7] The 1906–1907 Austin City Directory has a Sarah Williams, a Black laundress, residing at 1807 East 3rd Street (no longer extant).[8] The arrival of these and other families between 1880 and 1910 contributed to the shift from Black communities scattered around the city to concentrated clusters, many of which were in East Austin.[9] (Refer to *Section 1.2.2.1* of the *Citywide Historic Context* for additional background about the freedmen communities dispersed throughout Austin in the Reconstruction Era.)

Within Austin, the freedmen communities west of East Avenue began to decline by the early 1900s, with African American families relocating to East Austin. The rise of streetcar accessibility in East Austin in the 1890s helped facilitate this movement, making it easier to live in East Austin and commute to work downtown or in the growing streetcar suburbs in West Austin, Fairview Park, and Hyde Park. (See *figure II-44* in *Section 1.3.2., Volume I* of the *Citywide Historic Context* for a map of the early streetcar suburbs.) The Red River Street freedmen community along Waller Creek, for example, declined by around 1913, as development increased upstream in suburbs like Hyde Park, and sewage feeding into the stream made living conditions unsanitary. Similarly, with the rise in the Spanish-speaking population clustered near West Avenue, the Black school at West Avenue and West 5th Street instead became a Spanish-language school in 1916, encouraging families to move closer to the Black schools in East Austin. One indicator of this movement was the relocation of the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church from West 9th Street to East 10th Street in 1923 (*figure I-11*).[10]

Figure I-11. Photograph of Metropolitan AME Church at 1105 East 10th Street, constructed in 1923. The church is designated as a local City of Austin Landmark, and an official Texas historical marker commemorates the congregation's history, including its relocation to this site. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

Although African Americans had a significant presence in Austin since the city's founding in 1839, the local Hispanic community remained relatively small during the 1800s' last half. As early as the 1880s, many Mexican immigrants lived in a low-lying area along Shoal Creek below (south) and East Pine (5th) Street and near the I–GN freight depot. Others settled along Waller Creek along another flood-prone area just west of East Avenue.[11] The local Hispanic population began to surge in the 1910s when Mexico experienced great political instability and revolution.[12] Many Mexican citizens fled their home country for safety and to seek new opportunities, and settled in Austin and other parts of Texas.[13]

By the 1920s, development pressures began to force the enclave of Mexican Americans to relocate from the southwest corner of the original townsite due to the laying of multiple railroad spurs and the subsequent construction of new warehouses and other light industries in nearby areas. Most Mexican American families in East Austin in the 1920s lived along the railroad tracks, especially clustered near East 3rd Street and East Avenue. This trend continued into the 1930s and prompted several families to move to the less expensive and flood-prone land south of Black neighborhoods on the other side of East Avenue (later IH 35).[14] In 1925, Earl Connell prepared his master's thesis, which studied various locations where Austin's Mexican American population lived. In addition to the Hispanic neighborhoods situated west of East Avenue, Connell stated that a compact group of 35 Mexican families lived on the opposite side of East Avenue and were interspersed with white and Black families in an area between East 7th and East 11th Streets.[15] Connell's findings are supported by the city directories and Sanborn Maps, which document the presence of a "Mexican Baptist Church" at 301 East Avenue by 1918 (no longer extant). Connell's report did not extend to neighborhoods further east, north, or south of his limited study area. By the mid-to-late

1920s, however, Mexican Americans and African Americans lived throughout the East Austin project area.

2.4.1.2. Development Patterns

2.4.1.2.1. SUBDIVISION OF THE EAST OUTLOTS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1877–1880

One of the first sources for development patterns in the east Outlots in Austin after Reconstruction is the 1877 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map. The map depicts a limited area of one-and-half blocks from the alley north of East Pecan (6th) Street to East Pine (5th) Street in between East Avenue and Brushy (incorrectly identified on the map as "Blanco") Street. Various commercial enterprises are shown fronting onto East Avenue and facing the H&TC rail lines on East Pine (5th) Street. Small dwellings, primarily one-room, wood-frame buildings, are interspersed in the area, especially along the alleys. These houses likely were occupied by workers and their families who desired to live behind or near their places of work, a common trend of the era.

In the late 1870s, the early freedmen communities that had developed throughout the east Outlots continued to expand and began to merge into a single, more heavily concentrated African American neighborhood.[16] Contributing to this shift was the continued sale of property by the Robertson family. In 1877, George L. Robertson platted another subdivision, Outlots 2 and 3 of Division B, west of the main dwellings on the Robertson homestead (*figure I-12*, to follow).

Continued sale, subdivision, and development of the Robertson family's land resulted in the absorption of the Pleasant Hill community adjacent to the west, and the whole area became known as "Robertson Hill."[17] Pleasant Hill's loss of identity and perception as a distinct neighborhood over time was also caused by the lack of its own school, which both Robertson Hill and Masontown possessed in the next decade.[18] Masontown, though cut crosswise by the H&TC railroad tracks, retained much of its residential character despite the growing number of warehouses and other rail-related industries established along the H&TC alignment. In 1877, the Mason brothers continued to live in the area on the south side of East Cedar (4th) Street, near the city limits.[19] The Mason descendants continued to live nearby, generally working as laborers on farms, in the construction industry, or for the railroad. The nearby railroad industry created a source of jobs for Masontown's residents, and a sampling of City Directory listings from the era includes train porters, as well as a railroad fireman, living in Masontown.

The railroad's presence spurred even more activity to the east Outlots, and more land was subdivided and partitioned to meet demands for housing triggered by the influx of new residents. The trend continued for the next quarter century. By 1900, approximately one dozen formally platted subdivisions were present in the east Outlots.[20] Typically, they followed the 1840 Sandusky plan's layout and organizational scheme (see *figure I-13* and

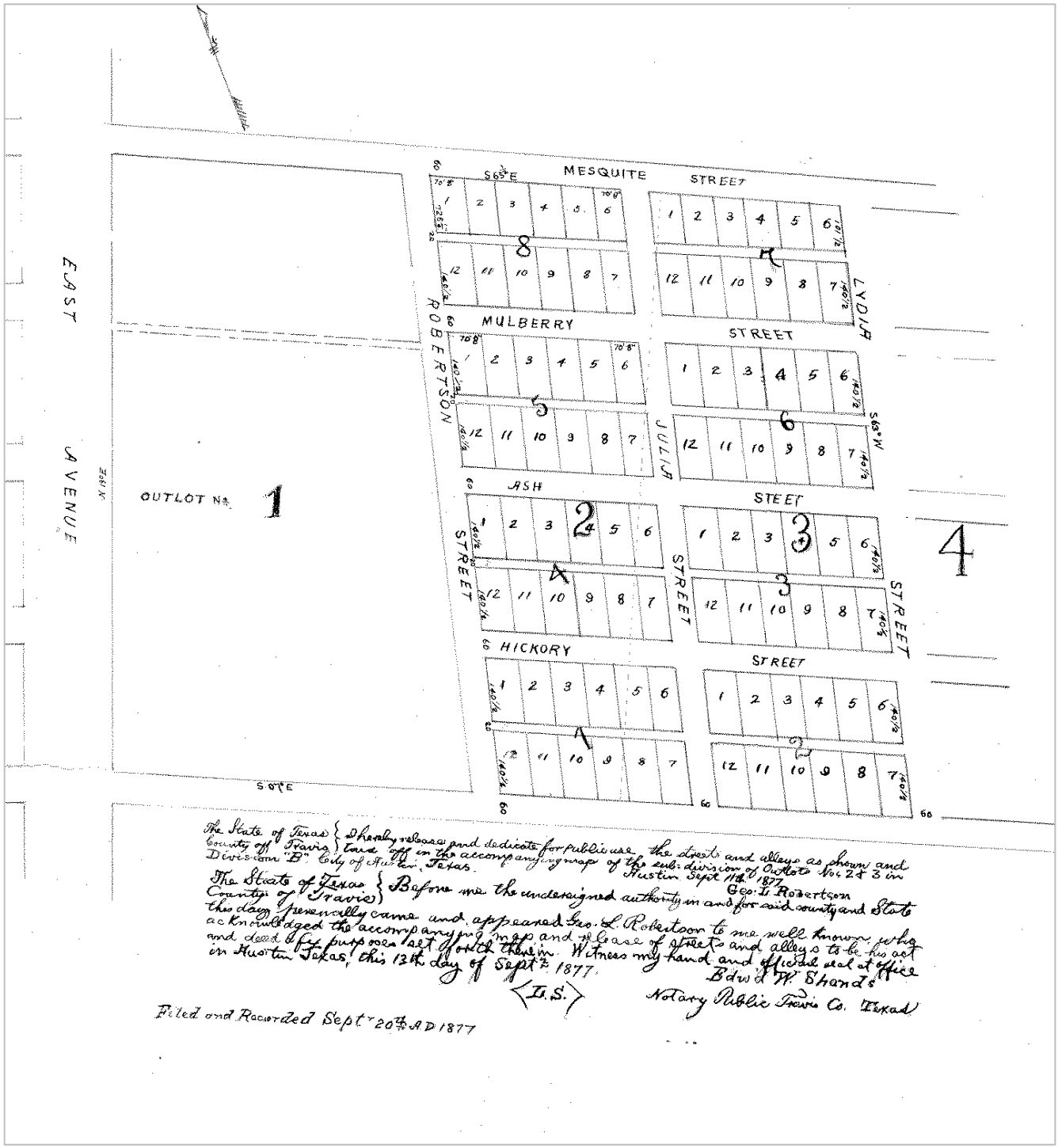


Figure I-12. George L. Robertson Subdivision of 1877. The east–west streets in the subdivision continued street names set out in the original townsite even though they were not opened through the main part of the homestead. The north–south streets were initially named "Robertson" after the family (present-day San Marcos Street) and "Julia" and "Lydia" after two of George's sisters. Later Robertson Street became Medina Street, then finally San Marcos Street as it known is today. Source: Travis County Clerk, Travis County Courthouse, Austin, Texas.

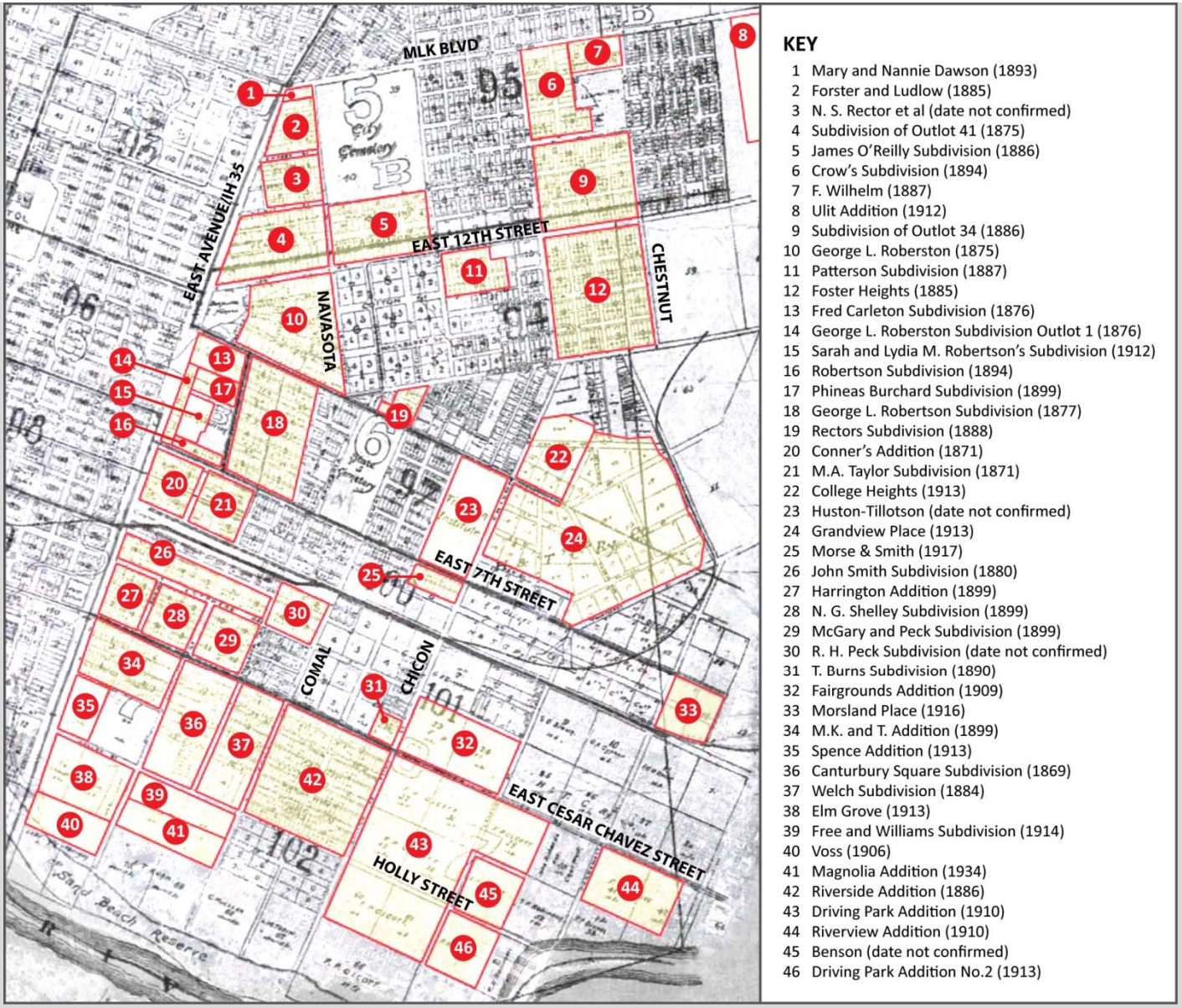


Figure I-13. Selected Subdivisions Platted during late 1800s and early 1900s. This map shows how many of the Austin Outlots were subdivided into smaller land units (blocks/lots) to allow for increased development within East Austin. These subdivisions continued to adhere to the Austin Outlot plan of 1840. Source: Travis County Clerk (background map from the General Land Office), overlay by HHM.

refer to *Section 2.2.2*, *figure I-4*). The plats retained existing thoroughfares and provided for the opening of new roads following the grid.

2.4.1.2.2. LATE-NINETEENTH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENT, 1880–1900

In 1882, the Austin and Northwestern Railroad (A&NW) began operations on tracks that extended through the east Outlots. The line followed the H&TC tracks along East Pine (5th) Street before shifting slightly to the southwest through the southern half of Outlot 1, Division O, and continued into downtown Austin. The A&NW line did not have the kind of immediate impact that the H&TC brought; however, it affected land development patterns and created a physical barrier that impeded travel in parts of the city, especially in the Outlots in East Austin.

The 1885 set of maps published by the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company expanded its coverage of Austin but only documented a few blocks of East Austin. Coverage beyond East Avenue remained limited to a few blocks surrounding the H&TC rail yard. The area's industrial character is evident with the depiction of the HT&C passenger depot and several freight depots, one of which was also used as a Baptist church, probably for Masontown residents. The map also notes warehouses and other commercial enterprises that benefited from their proximity to the railroad. Examples include a planning mill/lumberyard (operated by Joseph Nalle), cotton gin (operated by J. Condon), pecan elevator, and cotton warehouse. The maps depict an eclectic collection of other buildings including grocery stores and saloons, as well as dwellings of varying size and construction material. That same year, Reuben Ford prepared a city map based on Sandusky's 1840 plan (*figure I-14*, to follow). While the document presents minimal amounts of information about the development of the east Outlots, it illustrates the route of both HT&C and A&NW rail lines as well as the locations of Tillotson Institute and the Govalle School.

From the mid-1880s onward, development in the Outlots in East Austin saw a significant increase, which led to the delineation of new subdivisions carved from the larger Outlots. Between 1884 and 1900, property owners presented numerous subdivisions plats in the East Austin survey area (refer to *figure I-13*). Despite the renaming of the city's east–west streets from native trees to numbers in 1884, many of these subdivision plats persisted in the use of the old street names. Both street names are included on the 1887 bird's eye map (*figure I-15*, to follow). By that time, significant residential development of the Robertson Hill area as well as the blocks south of the railroads had occurred. Other notable resources in East Austin include the H&TC railroad's roundhouse, Nalle's Lumberyard, and the buildings of the Austin Machine and Foundry Company along East 4th Street between Waller and Attayac Streets. The bird's eye map also

Figure I-14. Reuben Ford, *Revised Map of Austin, Texas* (detail), 1885-1886. Source: Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.

Figure I-15. Augustus Koch, *Austin, State Capital of Texas* (detail), 1887. Note the depiction of the streetcar route that extended from the city cemetery (Oakwood Cemetery), to Comal, East 12th, Lydia, East 7th, Medina, and East 6th Streets into downtown. Another segment of the streetcar line extended from the H&TC depot along East San Marcos, East 3rd, Red River and East 2nd Streets. Note also that the map includes both the pre-1884 street names (types of trees), and the 1884-onward street names (numbers). Source: Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

notes the city's streetcar system, which originated from Congress Avenue and included a segment that serviced East Austin. The route extended from the City Cemetery (Oakwood Cemetery), to Comal, East 12th Street, Lydia, East 7th, Medina, and East 6th Streets into downtown. Another segment extended from the H&TC depot along East San Marcos, East 3rd, Red River and East 2nd Streets.[21]

The last decade of the 1800s saw still more subdivision development in the east Outlots (refer to *figure I-13*). While the 1894 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map of Austin only details the area within a few blocks adjacent to the rail lines, the title page shows that map coverage included a greater portion of the East Austin project area, illustrating the increase of platted subdivisions by the 1900s' turn. The creation of new subdivisions during the late 1800s was a response to the influx of people moving to Austin, which triggered a housing boom and a flurry of construction activity. The availability of milled lumber and other building materials that could be purchased at the Nalle & Co. and other lumberyards in the city changed the physical character of construction

in Austin. Although many builders continued to rely on vernacular and folk traditions and forms, they increasingly constructed wood-frame houses with standardized building materials and architectural elements available at the lumberyards. Some even used applied decorative wood trim and embellishment fashionable at the time. Local carpenters, contractors, and others also began to use pattern books and other publications that created a more homogenous character within new neighborhoods. The trend only accelerated into the 1900s.

2.4.1.2.3. THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY IN THE EAST OUTLOTS, 1900–1928

The 1900s' first quarter saw rapid expansion of the east Outlots with development of many areas previously unplatted to meet the continuing demand for residential neighborhoods. In addition to extending along many of the newly opened and named streets in the East Austin project area, the new electric-powered streetcar system provided an alternative means of intra-city travel that enabled residents to work and conduct business in the downtown core but live in more remote areas. The streetcar system also allowed East Austin residents a means to travel to other neighborhoods for domestic-related jobs (*figure I-16*).[22] The openness and inclusiveness of this transportation mode changed when the City of Austin passed an ordinance in 1906 that required Black patrons, many of whom lived in East Austin, to enter public streetcars from the back door and sit in the rear. This local implementation of Jim Crow laws spurred a short-lived boycott of the streetcars.[23]

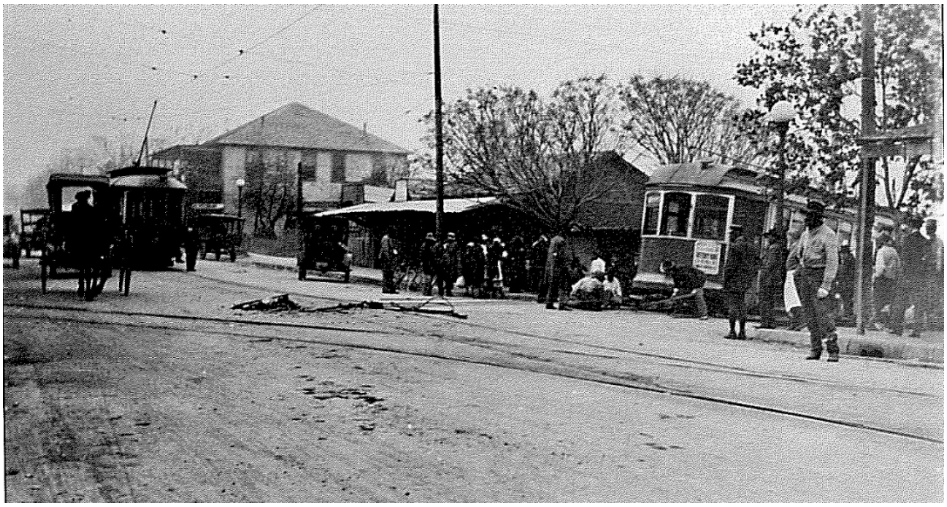


Figure I-16. The electric streetcar in East Austin at the corner of Waller and East 6th Streets. Source: Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

One of the first new subdivisions in the 1900s was the Glenwood Addition platted in 1904. The subdivision was bound by present-day Chestnut Avenue, East 12th Street, Walnut Avenue, and East 19th (Martin Luther King, Jr. [MLK] Boulevard) Street. The development in East Austin following the Glenwood Addition is visible in the map included in Morrison & Fourmy's 1909–1910 city directory (*figure I-17*).

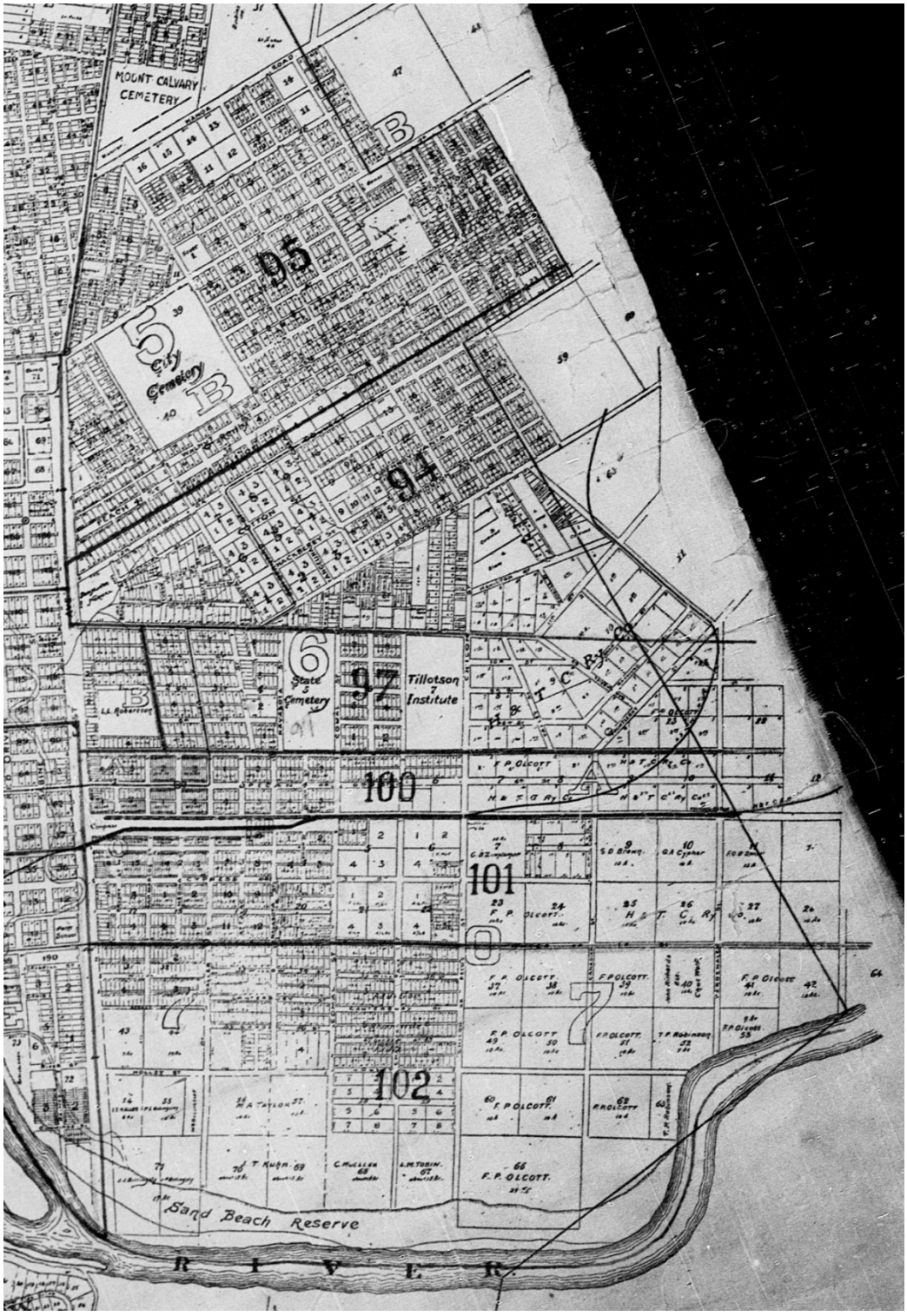


Figure I-17. Morrison & Fourmy Directory Co. *Map of the City of Austin* (detail), 1909–1910. Source: Perry-Castañeda Map Collection, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas.

The year 1904 also marked the arrival of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad (MK&T or "Katy") extension from Granger to Austin. Completed on June 15, 1904, the line tied into the existing track of the H&TC at the edge of East Austin.[24] The MK&T used the tracks of the H&TC from the MK&T depot grounds in East Austin to the H&TC

passenger depot located downtown for passenger service.[25] This connection was deliberate; a local newspaper article boasted that passengers "Can Board the Katy Without Having to Go to Eastern Part of the City," allowing travelers the advantages of using the central and more convenient location of the downtown depot.[26] Following the MK&T's arrival, I. R. W. Maguire submitted a plat for the MK&T Subdivision on November 13, 1905.[27] The area, bound by present-day North IH 35 Frontage Road and Spence, Waller, and Willow Streets, was quickly developed with 58 of the 94 lots developed by 1910.[28]

The first two decades of the 1900s were rampant with development throughout the East Austin survey area, with more than a dozen subdivisions platted (refer to *figure I-13*). A series of maps captures East Austin's growth by the mid-1920s. By 1921, the Sanborn Map Company extended its coverage area of the city and documented almost the entire East Austin survey area. These fire insurance maps reveal that undeveloped areas are generally limited to the project area's eastern boundaries, adjacent to railroad tracks and along the Colorado River. In addition to the subdivisions listed above, the Sanborn maps also include the Washington Park Addition between the Driving Park Addition and the sand beach reserve at the river, as well as the beginning of developments east of Boggy Creek. Meanwhile, infill construction continued to increase the density of development in earlier subdivisions, often following the ethnic settlement patterns established earlier. One such example is the house at 1001 East 13th Street, constructed ca. 1910 by Swedish immigrant William Swenson, near the Swedish Hill community established in the mid-1870s (*figure I-18*).

Figure I-18. Photograph of the house at 1001 East 13th Street, constructed by Swedish immigrants, ca. 1910. The house meets the criteria for local landmark listing and individual listing in the NRHP, based on its association with the significant historical trend of Swedish settlement in East Austin, as well as its unique architectural character, melding the Craftsman architectural style that was beginning to become popular in the United States with vernacular Swedish woodworking traditions. Photo by HHM, 2016.

Dixon Penick's 1925 city map provides another view of Austin and documents the evolving street network and new suburbs (*figure I-19*).

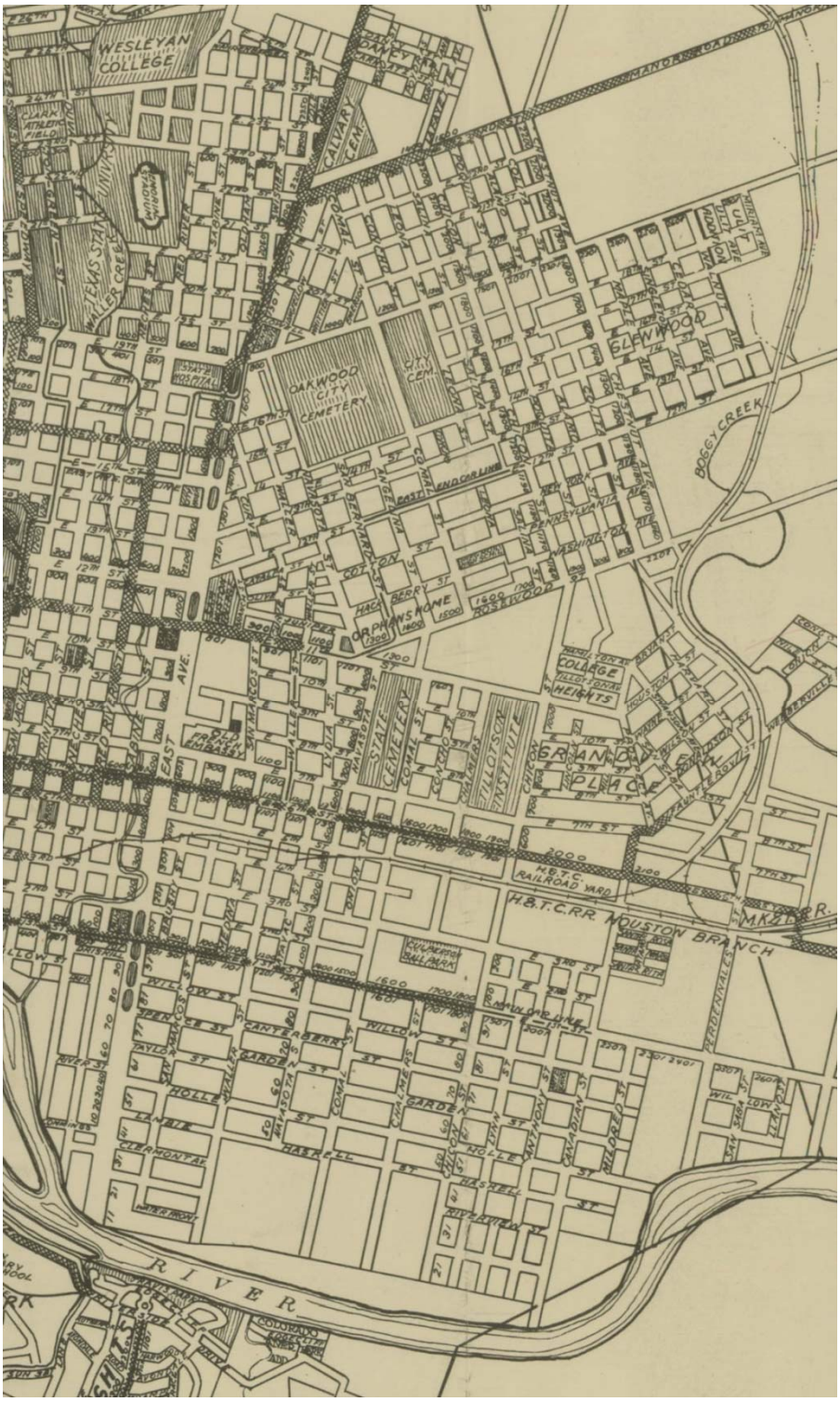


Figure I-19. *The City of Austin and Suburbs* (detail). Compiled and drafted by Dixon B. Penick, 1925. Note areas of paved road along East 3rd and East 6th Streets, as well as Manor Road and portions of East 11th Street. Source: Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.

This 1925 map indicates several new street names, most notably Manor Road (formerly the extension of East 22nd Street). As its name suggests,

the road connected Austin to the town of Manor; however, it also was part of State Highway (SH) 20 that extended between Austin and Houston. This road's incorporation into the state highway system increased traffic flow and led to its improvement, as noted on the Penick map. SH 71 was another state highway that extended through East Austin, and it, too, had brick pavement, at least partially. This highway entered Austin from the east along 1st (Cesar Chavez) Street. The roadway clearly was a factor in the creation of the Highway Addition, which was platted before the 1930s. It comprised the area bound by present day Pedernales, East Cesar Chavez, one block north of East 2nd, and Llano Streets.

As before, residential construction in these new developments reflected evolving trends in domestic designs, as the eclectic tastes of the Victorian era waned and simpler styles and detailing became more widespread. Among the poor and working classes, new house types began to replace more traditional forms. The linear, one-room-deep plans that featured gabled roofs (e.g., center passage or hall-parlor [two-room] houses) that had once been so common gave way to a new generation of houses with deeper, more box-like plans and often had hipped or pyramidal roofs with inset porches. The effect created a more vertical emphasis. The rental houses of brothers Edmund ("E. J.") Hofheinz and Oscar ("O. G.") Hofheinz exemplified this trend.[29] E. J. Hofheinz (ca. 1870–1949) was a real estate dealer and accountant,[30] while O.G. Hofheinz (ca. 1880–1957) was an insurance salesman and developer.[31] Together, the brothers subdivided land and built houses in East Austin and Clarksville.[32] Real estate transaction articles in the *Austin American Statesman* indicate that the Hofheinz brothers both speculatively sold the houses that they built and retained them for rental income.[33] Within the East Austin survey area, a typical extant example of a Hofheinz house at 1203 Chestnut Avenue was constructed in 1920, and by 1927, occupied by "colored" renter J. E. Howard (*figure I-20*, to follow). Similar developers, Carl Wendlant and his son Charles Wendlant, also built modest housing for sale and rent in East Austin and Clarksville[34] from 1902 through 1947, as well as other more substantial homes across Austin.[35]

From the late 1910s through the 1930s, Craftsman bungalows gained widespread acceptance locally and throughout much of the nation. Plans for these houses appeared in pattern books available at lumberyards or in magazines with mass circulation, which greatly influenced the character of residential architectural design and development patterns. These house types became widely popular and spread rapidly across much of the state and nation at the time. Independent carpenters and builders continued to construct these dwellings, which were relatively simple and inexpensive to construct using building supplies and materials from local lumber yards and dealers.

Figure I-20. Photograph of a typical Hofheinz house at 1203 Chestnut Street, built in 1920. The house meets the criteria for local landmark and individual NRHP designation based on its historical associations with the significant trend of mass construction of rental houses in East Austin by the Hofheinz brothers, as well as its embodiment of the National Folk architectural style, associated with the new availability of milled lumber near railroad depots in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

2.4.2. PUBLIC SERVICES IN THE EAST OUTLOTS, 1877–1928

The large numbers of residential developments created in the east Outlots during the first quarter of the 1900s necessitated various public amenities, many of which catered to the already large African American population and the growing Mexican American population who increasingly began to settle in the area by the late 1920s. Churches were fundamental to the development of the residential areas and fostered a sense of community. In fact, many congregations relocated from downtown and other areas into East Austin during this period. New businesses and schools also served as symbols of permanence in the communities. Though surrounded by Anglo residential neighborhoods and starting to become interspersed with Hispanic neighborhoods, African American neighborhoods in particular became increasingly self-supporting enclaves with myriad amenities owned and established by African Americans (often the result of Jim Crow policies and practices).[36]

2.4.2.1. Educational Institutions

After Reconstruction, the establishment of schools in freedmen communities pointed to the presence of a significant population therein and guaranteed permanence and stability. For example, one of the reasons that the Pleasant Hill freedmen community was so easily

absorbed into a larger community was that it did not have its own school. The public schools provided education to a relatively eclectic mix of children that not only included Anglos and African Americans but also non-English speaking residents from such European countries as Germany, Sweden, Italy, as well as a number of Lebanese immigrants. By the late 1920s, many families of Mexican heritage also moved to the area, and their increasing numbers had a significant impact on the school system.

2.4.2.1.1. ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

One of the first schools in the east Outlots was the Masontown School, also known as the Porter Mission School. The Masontown School, located on the south side of East 9th Street east of Comal Street, was open for about a decade between 1879 and the late 1880s.[37]

In 1884, the Robertson Hill School opened at San Marcos and East 11th Streets.[38] The school was housed in a four-room, wood-frame building. Contractors and builders Barnes & Flume constructed the building at a cost of $2,200 (*figure I-21*).[39]

Figure I-21. Robertson Hill School at San Marcos and East 11th Street, built 1884. The new school was described as being "prettily located … in a handsome grove of oaks, in the very center of a densely settled colored community, and in a stone's throw of the new colored Baptist church, in course of erection."[1] Photo source: Douglass, Neal, *Anderson High School – "three sites,"* August 12, 1953, photograph, accessed July 13, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth33708/?q=school, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*.

The Robertson Hill School at San Marcos and East 11th Streets is depicted in the 1887 bird's eye view of Austin (refer to *figure I-15*). In 1889, Austin Colored High School shared facilities with Robertson Hill School. An 1892 article highlighting local schools lists the "High School" and Robertson Hill School as well as the Gregorytown School as being

for African American children in East Austin.[40] The Gregorytown School—also known as School No. 3, Gregory Town School and Gregory School—was located on East 11th Street at the site of present-day Blackshear Elementary School.[41] The original school consisted of two two-room buildings on the Bickler School's former site.[42] In 1903, an eight-room brick building replaced the original school. In 1936, Gregorytown School was re-named for Edward L. Blackshear (1862–1919), a nineteenth-century teacher and principal who left Austin in 1895 to become head of Prairie View College (present-day Prairie View A&M University) in Waller County, Texas.

Another early elementary school in the East Austin survey area was John B. Winn Elementary, located at the northeast corner of East Avenue and East 19th Street (MLK Boulevard). The school was named after John B. Winn, Austin School District's first superintendent, and dedicated in 1907. After the school was built, the neighborhood to the east (present-day Blackland) began to be referred to as the "Winn Community" (*figure I-22*).[43]

Figure I-22. Undated view of Winn Elementary School. Source: Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

Continued growth of the residential neighborhoods in the East Austin survey area spurred additional changes to the schools. In 1907, the Austin Colored High School separated from the Robertson Hill School and moved to a two-story wood-frame building at Olive and Curve Streets (*figure I-23*).[44] The high school was then named for E. H. Anderson, who helped establish the state's first public college for African Americans in Prairie View (near Houston) and served as its first president. In 1938, city education officials later renamed the high school after his brother, Laurine Cecil (L. C.) Anderson, who served as the high

Figure I-23. Old Anderson High School, ca. 1908. Source: University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, https://texashistory.unt.edu/.

school's principal for 32 years. Before moving to Austin, he had assisted his brother at Prairie View Normal Institute (now Prairie View A&M University) and succeeded him as president following E. H. Anderson's untimely death.[45]

As early as 1908, newspaper articles discuss possible relocation or closure of Robertson Hill School.[46] However, in 1912, the school board decided against additions to Gregorytown and Anderson High schools and voted to build a new high school instead.[47] As a result, Robertson Hill School closed in 1913 when the lower grade levels were moved to the old high school building at Olive and Curve Streets. The school became known as Olive Street Elementary.[48] The high school moved to new brick buildings at 1607 Pennsylvania Avenue (not extant).[49] The buildings, based on the same plan as schools for white children in Hyde Park and in South Austin, had the honor of being the "largest negro high school building in the state."[50] As the only secondary school for Black children in the city, E. H. Anderson High School drew Black families from predominantly white neighborhoods in other areas of the city.[51] Ultimately, many of these families moved east of East Avenue to be close to the school. In the 1920s, families left Wheatville because the city's only high school for African Americans was in East Austin and required a "good long walk."[52]

Aside from shifting locations of African American schools, the 1910s also saw construction of other schools in the East Austin project area. The Austin School Board took bids for a new three-room ward school building in Driving Park Addition in February 1916.[53] This facility became Metz Elementary, which opened in 1916 on Willow Street between Anthony and Canadian (present-day Robert Martinez, Jr.) Streets and accommodated the growing number of families moving to the area.

Before the 1920s, children in the East Austin survey area attended a number of local schools including Palm, Metz, and Bickler schools. In 1923, however, the Comal Street School was built at East 3rd and Comal Streets to "take care of the large number of non-English speaking students," resulting in an intentionally segregated school for the Hispanic community.[54]

In addition to the public schools, a number of private schools operated in the East Austin project area between 1877 and 1928. Stuart Female Seminary was founded in 1875 and was located at the northwest corner of East 9th and Navasota Streets.[55] It closed in 1899. Ultimately, in 1926, the property became the site of Our Lady of Guadalupe School. Mrs. Thomas White opened a private school for Black girls in her home at 1611 Hackberry Street from 1892 to 1900.[56] The residence is no longer extant.

2.4.2.1.2. POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

In addition to having its own elementary school, the Gregorytown community also boasted an institution of higher learning for African Americans. Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute was chartered in 1877 and opened in the 1700 block of East Bois d'Arc (7th) Street in January 1881.[57] At its inception, the school offered junior and senior high courses, as well as college preparatory courses to both male and female Black students.[58] Early buildings on the campus included Allen Hall (1881, *figure I-24*), Beard Hall (1894), Evans Industrial Building (1911), and Administration Building (1915). Tillotson Institute was recognized as a junior college in 1925 and became a women's college for a brief period starting in 1926 until 1935.

Figure I-24. S. B. Hill, *Allen Hall, Tillotson Institute*, photograph. Source: University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, https://texashistory.unt.edu/.

Although the plan for a coeducational post-secondary school in Texas for African Americans was launched by the Methodist Episcopal College in 1876, property for the institution, along East Avenue between East 11th and East 13th Streets, was not purchased until 1883. Construction on the first building (Burrowes Hall) began in 1898 but was not finished until 1900; Samuel Huston College finally opened for enrollment that fall.[59] The bulk of the campus was on the east side of East Avenue between 11th and 12th Streets. However, one building (Eliza Dee Hall – the girls' dormitory) was located on the southern half of the block to the north and another building (Science Hall) on the southeast corner of East Avenue and East 12th Street. In the early years, many male students lived in cottages in the adjacent Robertson Hill neighborhood (*figure I-25*).

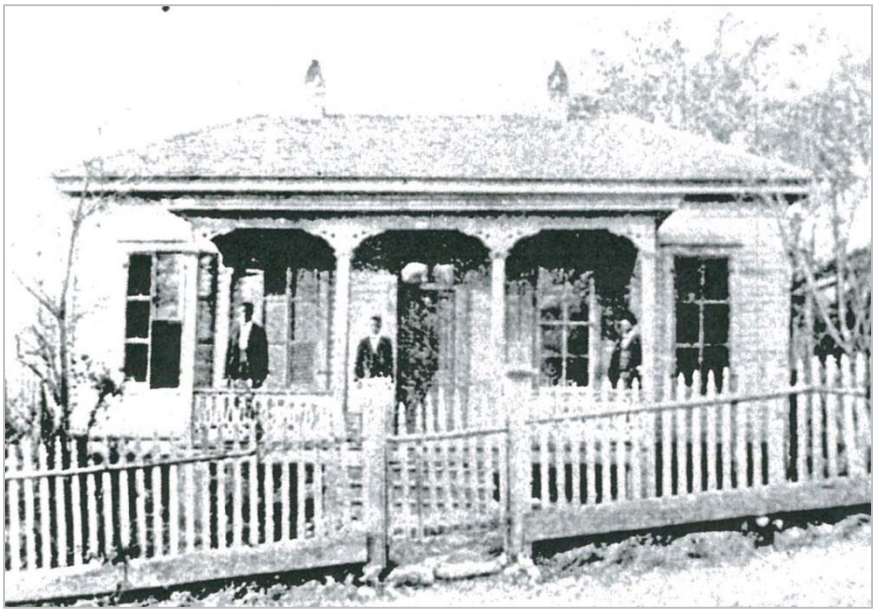


Figure I-25. "One of the cottages for boys." ca. 1900. This house, located on Olive Street, was used as a dormitory for male students attending Samuel Huston College. Source: Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

2.4.2.2. Religious Institutions

In addition to schools, churches also contribute significantly to East Austin's history and development. Initially, African Americans and Mexican Americans in Austin attended churches west of East Avenue in the city's downtown core, as part of white congregations. In most cases, they were required to sit in segregated areas. Some African American congregations even met in the basements or other facilities of same-denomination churches.

In 1885, Sanborn maps show that one of the H&TC freight depots also served as a church for an African American Baptist congregation. The 1887 bird's-eye view map of Austin shows some of the earliest church buildings in the East Austin project area (reference *figure I-15*). One of them is the Ebenezer (Third) Baptist Church at the northeast corner of East 10th and San Marcos Streets. The congregation was organized in 1875 and erected its first building in East Austin in the early 1880s.

Another church of unidentified denomination is depicted further south at the northeast corner of San Marcos and Spruce (East 2nd) Streets. Mount Olive Baptist church was founded in Masontown in 1889 on East 4th Street, near where Chalmers Courts is presently located.[60] The Church of the Nazarene was organized in 1914, and moved to a site at the northeast corner of San Marcos and Spence Streets. Services were initially conducted in a tent in 1915.[61] A new church was completed by the end of April 1916.

Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church shows the eastward migration of the local Hispanic community during the early 1900s, when the church moved from its original downtown location. The parish was founded in April 1907 and secured land at the corner of West 5th and Guadalupe Streets. As the number of worshipers increased, the church acquired the land where the Stuart Female Academy once operated at East 9th and Lydia Streets. Using materials salvaged from their old downtown facility, the congregation erected a new sanctuary which was used until the present sanctuary was constructed in 1954 at West 5th and Guadalupe Streets downtown;[62] a new church was built on East 9th at Lydia Streets. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church is discussed again in subsequent sections.

According to oral history, another early church building in the East Austin project area was Winn Trinity Chapel at East 20th and Salina Streets that housed an interdenominational congregation.[63] The 1921 edition of the Sanborn map shows that a one-story wood-frame building identified as “Trinity Union Mission Church” was located at the northwest corner of that intersection.

2.4.2.3. Business Institutions

During the period from 1877 through 1928, commercial development lined East 1st (Cesar Chavez) Street, East 6th Street, and East 12th Street, with industrial development clustered near the rail depots along East 4th and East 5th Streets near East Avenue (IH 35) (*figure I-26*, to follow). These commercial clusters generally relate to existing transportation networks, such as the streetcar line along East 12th and East 6th Streets (refer to *figure I-15*), as well as paved roadways (refer to *figure I-19*). Commercial enterprises of the era were small and locally owned. The most prevalent business types appear to have been grocery stores, along with dry goods stores, meat markets, breweries, saloons, cafés, barber shops, and beauty shops.[64]

Although African Americans and Mexican Americans increasingly contributed to the population and culture of East Austin during the era from 1877 through 1928, they still held relatively little economic capital. In East Austin, European immigrants owned and operated the bulk of the small commercial enterprises that characterized the neighborhood. While Black-owned businesses certainly did exist, many likely were so

Figure I-26. Map showing the distribution of extant commercial and industrial resources constructed between 1877 and 1928, depicted in green, with subdivisions shown by the multicolored patchwork beneath. Source: Map overlay by HHM, using 2016 Google base map.

small and informal that they were not documented by official city directories. As a result, known Black-owned businesses from the era are rare.

In this climate, businesses owned by Europeans thrived and expanded. For example, Italian immigrant Felix Cherico opened a grocery at 1401 East 6th Street sometime around 1890 (*figure I-27*, to follow), alongside the family home that he built at 1403 East 6th Street. Another Italian immigrant, Angelo Franzetti, opened a store on the same property as his residence at 901 East 6th Street by 1905, then, by 1910, moved his store to 1601 East 6th Street and his residence to 1609 East 6th Street, where he continued to live until around 1924. (Note that

Figure I-27. Photograph of the grocery store at 1401 East 6th Street, established by Italian immigrant Felix Cherico ca. 1890, and later taken over by the Italian American Franzetti family in 1929. (Refer to *Section 2.6.4.1* for additional information about the Franzetti family). The building meets the criteria for both local landmark and individual NRHP listing for its associations with the significant trend of commercial development by European immigrants in East Austin, as well as significant individuals Joseph P. Franzetti, Joseph A. Franzetti, and John Franzetti. Photo by HHM, 2016.

none of these buildings remain extant today). The Franzetti family continued to operate the store at 1601 East 6th Street until at least 1949, and during the early 1900s the family's business holdings in East Austin expanded to also include a general merchandise store at 1001 E. 6th Street by 1920 (no longer extant). During this period, the Franzetti family members typically occupied residences near their stores – growing from the early family home at 1609 East 6th Street to also include 1615 East 6th Street by 1914 (no longer extant). Another Italian immigrant, Charles Perrone, operated a grocery at 1600 East 6th Street from roughly 1924 until 1954 (no longer extant), living in the adjacent house at 1602 East 6th Street (no longer extant) throughout that time.[65] (Note that the Franzetti and Perrone families also began to develop other commercial nodes along West Lynn and San Gabriel Streets beginning in the 1920s.)

One known and rare example of a Black-owned business established as early as 1891, is the saloon located at 1308 East 4th Street (*figure I-28*, to follow). According to U.S. Census records, the proprietor, Sam Wilson, was a Black man, born in Tennessee around 1836. By 1900, he lived with his wife Nancy on East 7th Street.[66] With its location immediately adjacent to the railroad tracks, the establishment likely catered to the laborers who worked in the adjacent warehouses and railyards and lived in the modest housing nearby.

Figure I-28. Photograph of the saloon located at 1308 East 4th Street, today known as the Scoot Inn. Established ca. 1891 by Black proprietor Sam Wilson, the building meets the criteria for local landmark and individual National Register listing for its significant associations with early African American commerce in East Austin, its vernacular False Front property type form typical of 1800s' rail-related commerce, and its continued use and value as a cultural institution. Photo by HHM, 2016.

[1] Spence, Jeremiah, Joseph Straubhaar, Zeynep Tufekci, Alexander Cho and Dean Graber, "Structuring Race in the Cultural Geography of Austin," in *Inequity in the Technopolis* Jeremiah Spence, et. al., eds. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 33, available from https://www.academia.edu/5618281/Structuring_Race_in_the_Cultural_Geography_of_Austin.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Although not a precise method of measuring demographics, a search of U.S. Census records of Austin for individuals with "Mexico" as the place of birth yielded 82 individuals in 1880, 177 in 1900 (a 116% increase), 530 in 1910 (a 199% increase), 947 in 1920 (a 79% increase), and 1,692 in 1930 (a 79% increase).

[4] Barnes. The Great Migration is defined as the movement of African American families from rural to urban areas, especially concentrated between ca. 1910 and ca. 1970.

[5] Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., *Historic Resources Survey of East Austin*, revised December 2000, 67.

[6] Michelle M. Mears, *And Grace Will Lead Me Home: African American Freedmen Communities of Austin, Texas, 1865-1928* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2009), 148.

[7] Texas Beyond History, "Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead," accessed May 29, 2016, http://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/ransom/settlement.html; Michael Barnes, "What you don't know about East Austin's history," *Austin American-Statesman*, May 29, 2016, accessed May 29, 2016http://ireader.olivesoftware.com/Olive/iReader/AustinAmericanStatesman/SharedArticle.ashx?document=AAS\2016\05\29&article=Ar06405.

[8] 1906-7 City Directory of Austin With Street Directory of Residents, 1907; Austin, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Austin History Center, Austin Public Library.

[9] Mears, *And Grace Will Lead Me Home*, 27.

[10] Michelle M. Mears, "City Planning and the Decline of Austin's Historic African American Communities," in *Major Problems in Texas History*, eds. Sam W. Haynes and Cary D. Wintz (Boston, Massachusetts: Cengage Learning, 2016), 379.

[11] Sheet 15 of the Austin, Texas map series by the Sanborn Map & Publishing Company notes a number of tenements in the area including what are identified as "Mexican Tenements" just west of the Millett lumberyard and north of the I–GN railroad tracks.

[12] McDonald, 25.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Spence, 40-41; Bruce Hunt, "The Rise and Fall of the Austin Dam," July 9, 2011, https://notevenpast.org/rise-and-fall-austin-dam/.

[15] Earl M. Connell, *The Mexican Population of Austin, Texas.* (R and E Research Associates, 1925), 2, 10-11, 13, 24.

[16] Manaster, 40.

[17] Spence, 49.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Mooney & Morrison, *Mooney & Morrison's General Directory Of The City Of Austin, Texas, For 1877-78*, (Houston: 1877), accessed June 22, 2016, texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth46838/, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*.

[20] Martha Doty Freeman and Kenneth Breisch, *Historic Resources of East Austin Multiple Property Nomination,* 1984, Section 7, page 1.

[21] Manaster, 49.

[22] Spence, 33.

[23] Katie Humphrey, "1906 boycott of streetcars gave Austin's blacks a voice, *Austin American-Statesman*, January 21, 2008, "African Americans," Folder 1, Subject File, AF-1300, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

[24] "'Katy' Golden Spike Driven," *Austin Statesman*, June 16, 1904, "Railroads," Subject File, AF-R0820, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas; "All Aboard! Many Families Take a Journey on Last Katy Passenger Train," *Austin American Statesman*, no date, "Railroads," Subject File, AF-R0820, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

[25] "Katy to Use Central Depot," *Statesman*, no date, "Railroads," Subject File, AF-R0820, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., *Interstate Highway Corridor, Austin, Travis County, Texas, Historic Resources Investigations Intensive-Level Survey, Segment 1 Study Area: Town Lake to E. Seventh Street*, prepared for Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, 2004, I-73.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Hardy·Heck·Moore & Myers, Inc. *Chestnut Neighborhood Historic Resources* Survey, prepared for the City of Austin, Texas, 2001, 21.

[30] "E.J. Hofheinz Funeral Rises Set Wednesday," *Austin American Statesman*, August 16, 1949, p. 1; from ProQuest, www.proquest.com.

[31] "Death Claims O.G. Hofheinz At His Home," *Austin American Statesman*, May 18, 1957, p. 1; from ProQuest, www.proquest.com.

[32] Jennifer Rita Ross, *The Aesthetics of Gentrification in the Clarksville National Register of Historic Places National Register District, Austin, Texas, 1871-2003* (Thesis, Texas Tech University, 2003), 71.

[33] "Real Estate Transaction," *Austin American Statesman*, various dates, 1902-1947; from ProQuest, www.proquest.com. For future research, note that newspaper articles on ProQuest can be searched by grantor/grantee name or by subdivision name, then filtered by "Document Type" to include only "Real Estate Transaction" articles — a powerful tool to begin the search for ownership history.

[34] Terri Myers and A. Elizabeth Butman, *National Register Nomination: West Line Historic District* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2005).

[35] Ibid; "Carl Wendlandt, Real Estate Agent," [advertisement], *The Austin American Statesman*, November 13, 1912, p. 9; from ProQuest, www.proquest.com. Note that additional research is required to determine whether individual houses within the East Austin survey area are associated with Carl or Charles Wendlandt.

[36] East End Cultural Heritage District, "How East Austin became a Negro District," accessed June 13, 2016, http://www.eastendculturaldistrict.org/cms/gentrification-redevelopment/how-east-austin-became-negro-district.

[37] Spence 42, 49; John Mason Brewer, *An Historical Outline of the Negro in Travis County* (Austin: Samuel Huston College, 1940), 22; Morrison & Fourmy, *Morrison & Fourmy's General Directory of the City of Austin for 1889-1890* (Galveston, 1889), 43, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*.

[38] "New School House," *Austin Daily Statesman*, October 18, 1884; "African Americans-Defunct Schools-Robertson Hill," Subject File, AF-1300 (53), Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas; Myrtle Foster, "History of the Physical Plant of Anderson High School," unpublished paper; "Public Schools (High) – Anderson," Subject File, AF-P8620, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas; "New Anderson High on Most Attractive Sight," *Austin American-Statesman*, August 25, 1953.

[39] Ransom A. Barnes and Richard A. Flume are listed as "contractors, builders," in the 1886-1886 Austin City Directory. Their business was located on Hickory Street's north side between Congress Avenue and Brazos Street. Morrison & Fourmy, *Morrison & Fourmy's General Directory of the City of Austin*, *1885-86*, 67, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, https://texashistory.unt.edu/.

[40] "City School Matters," *Austin Daily Statesman*, September 11, 1892; "African Americans-Defunct Schools-General," Subject File, AF-1300 (52), Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas. Various sources state that the Gregorytown School was founded in 1894; this article proves it was open at an earlier date.

[41] Sharon Hill, "The Empty Stairs: The Lost History of East Austin," *Intersections: New Perspectives in Texas Public History*, vol. 1, Texas State University, May 2012, accessed December 4, 2015 from http://gato-docs.its.txstate.edu/jcr:e08c7244-9193-49b1-b4d8-6cb3e4c4daab/The%20Empty%20Stairs%20The%20Lost%20History%20of%20East%20Austin.pdf; Spence, 42. See

also inscription from the historic marker placed at the school site, accessed March 17, 2016, http://www.blackshearyellowjackets.org/?PageName=%27AboutTheSchool%27.

[42] Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Austin Alumnae Chapter, *A Pictorial History of Austin, Travis County, Texas' Black Community, 1839-1920* (Austin: Delta Sigma Theta, ca. 1972), 19.

[43] "New School Dedicated," May 3, 1907, newspaper clipping, "Public Schools – Elementary," Subject File, AFP8300 (47), Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

[44] Foster, "History of the Physical Plant of Anderson High School."

[45] Karen Monsho, "Laurine Cecil Anderson," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 18, 2016, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fan56.

[46] "Schools being gotten ready," *Austin Daily Statesman*, July 4, 1908, from the Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas, "African Americans-Defunct Schools-Robertson Hill," Subject File, AF-1300 (53).

[47] "High School for Negroes," *Austin Daily Statesman*, May 28, 1912, from the Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas, "Public Schools (High) – Anderson," Subject File, AF-P8620.

[48] Spence, 42. Olive Street Elementary burned in 1947 per an undated, unpublished manuscript in "Public Schools (High) – Anderson," Subject File, AF-P8620, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

[49] Foster, "History of the Physical Plant of Anderson High School."

[50] "Negro High School is one of state's best," *Austin Daily Statesman*, September 23, 1913, p. 8; "Negro School is Accepted," *Austin Statesman*, October 14, 1913, "Public Schools (High) – Anderson," Subject File, AF-P8620, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

[51] Manaster, 115.

[52] James Pinkerton, "Struggle of blacks traced in Austin history," *Austin American-Statesman*, October 7, 1984: A12, "Subdivisions-East Austin," Subject File, AF-S6090, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

[53] *The American Contractor* 37, no. 3 (January 15, 1916): 28; *The American Contractor* 37, no. 6 (February 6, 1916): 41, 97.

[54] United States of America, Plaintiff-Appellant, Dedra Estell Overton et al., *Intervenors-Appellants, v. Texas Education Agency et al* (Austin Independent School District), Defendants-Appellees, No. 73-3301, United States Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, Sept. 7, 1978, available from http://openjurist.org/579/f2d/910/united-states-v-texas-education-agency; Spence, 50.

[55] Judith N. McArthur, "Stuart Seminary," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 29, 2016, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/kbs55.

[56] Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., 31; Freeman and Breisch, Section 7, 1.

[57] "Tillotson College," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 16, 2016, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/kbt27.

[58] Spence, 50.

[59] "Samuel Huston College," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 16, 2016, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/kbs06.

[60] Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., 7.

[61] Peter Flagg Maxson, "History," undated manuscript.

[62] "History of Guadalupe Church" *Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church*, accessed June 28, 2016, http://www.olgaustin.org/history.shtml.

[63] Cherry Jane Gray, "History of the Winn Area (1876 to 1966)," unpublished paper, "Subdivisions-East Austin," Subject File, AF-S6090, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

[64] Per City Directory research for extant commercial buildings from this era, as detailed in the Survey Forms in *Appendix B*.

[65] Austin History Center, City Directories.

[66] It is unlikely that the Wilsons' residence remains extant today. The 1900 census lists the Wilson's address as 1308 East 7th Street. The building at 1308 East 7th Street today is non-historic. Furthermore, the address may have changed, and the new address is likely 1608 East 7th Street, which is a vacant lot today.

2.5. Koch and Fowler's 1928 City Plan

Hired by the City of Austin to prepare a city plan in 1927, Dallas-based engineering firm Koch and Fowler published their plan in 1928. As discussed in the *Citywide Historic Context*, the plan outlined various recommendations in an effort to control and influence the expanding city's growth while claiming to improve the lives of all of Austin's citizens, but the plan's core mandate of government-sanctioned segregation underlay many of Koch and Fowler's recommendations, effectively relegating Austin's minority population to second-class citizenship.[1] The impact of the City's implementation of most of the plan's recommendations in East Austin, as well as the City-sanctioned segregation policies, would have far-reaching and lasting effects on the demographics, character, inequities, and built environment of the area's neighborhoods.

2.5.1. OFFICIAL ADOPTION OF CITY-SANCTIONED SEGREGATION POLICIES

A decade before Koch and Fowler authored their city plan for Austin, the Supreme Court ruled in 1917 that segregationist zoning laws were illegal because they infringed on property owners' rights to sell their land to whomever they chose. Without legal segregationist zoning, cities instead developed other policies to isolate minorities within certain areas. In creating Austin's city plan, Koch and Fowler used this tactic to ensure the local African American population was concentrated in one part of the city: East Austin.

In the plan, Koch and Fowler note that while African Americans lived in small numbers across the city, the majority of the city's Black population already lived east of East Avenue, clustered east of City Cemetery and between East 14th Street and Rosewood Avenue, as depicted on the plan's *Present Use of Property* map (*figure I-29*, to follow). The one area east of East Avenue not occupied by the African American population was the neighborhoods south of East 1st (Cesar Chavez) Street, which the map depicted as "White Residential Property." Notable enclaves of African Americans outside of East Austin included Clarksville on the city's west side, a neighborhood near the School for the Deaf, and Wheatville, west of the University of Texas. In order to "encourage" African Americans living in these areas outside of East Austin to relocate, the plan outlined strategies and policies for the City to enact that would make life easier for those African Americans living in the "negro district," and harder everywhere else by denying basic services and amenities to African Americans outside of East Austin:

> It is our recommendation that the nearest approach to the solution of the race segregation problem will be the recommendation of this district as a negro district; and that all the facilities and conveniences be provided the negroes in this district as an incentive to draw the negro population to this area. This will eliminate the necessity of duplication of white and black schools, white and black parks, and other duplicate facilities for this area.[1]

[1] Though the 1928 pan did not specifically mention the local Mexican American population, other local forces were already supporting segregation on Mexican American communities, as discussed in Vol. II citywide context 1.3.9.1.

Figure I-29. Koch and Fowler's *Present Use of Property* map showing the existing 1927 use of property, broken into business, white residential, and miscellaneous residential property uses. The map shows existing non-residential nodes in East Austin along East 4th Street, East 6th Street, Rosewood Avenue, as well as sporadic areas along East 1st and 12th Streets and corner lots. The map also shows African Americans living predominantly in the areas east and south of the city cemetery (Oakwood Cemetery), as well as east of the Texas State Cemetery. East Austin white residents lived predominantly in Robertson Hill and south of East 1st Street, according to the map.

Under the plan's recommended policy, if African Americans wanted public services—such as sewage lines or schools—they would have to move to East Austin, or be denied these services.[2]

2.5.2. PUBLIC SPACES

Public spaces played a crucial role in Koch and Fowler's plan to segregate Austin. Like housing and neighborhoods, the plan proposed race-specific schools and parks.

2.5.2.1. Schools

Prior to its adoption of the Koch and Fowler plan, the City of Austin already had a separate-but-equal policy that led to the creation of separate educational facilities for white and Black students, with most, but not all, of the African American schools—including E. H. Anderson High School on Pennsylvania Avenue (the current location of Kealing Middle School)—located in East Austin.[2] According to the plan, to save taxpayer money while maintaining segregation, all schools for African Americans should fall within the "negro district," and the City should close all the schools for Black students outside of East Austin. The closure of these schools would encourage minorities to relocate to town's east side.

As part of their school initiative, Koch and Fowler wanted no child to travel more than a half mile to reach school.[3] The *Plan Showing Present and Proposed Schools and Playground Areas* (*figure I-30*, to follow) shows five schools in East Austin in 1927:

- John B. Winn Public School at East 19th Street and Cameron Road
- E. H. Anderson High School at 1601 Pennsylvania Avenue (for African Americans)
- A "colored" High School at East 11th Street and Chalmers Avenue
- A school at East 10th and Navasota Streets (appears as a theological seminary on a 1900 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map)
- Metz School at 2101 Willow Street

Koch and Fowler recommended only one new school for East Austin, at East 19th Street and Walnut Avenue at the eastern city limits.[4] At all but the schools on East 11th and East 10th Streets, the plan proposed adding new playgrounds. See *Section 6.1.2* for further discussion of these schools.

2.5.2.2. Parks

The Koch and Fowler plan emphasized the importance of preserving and taking advantage of the city's natural beauty. As part of this initiative, the plan recommended that the City develop a park system, seeing that "play grounds and recreation facilities are as much a necessity to the health and happiness of people as are its schools, sewer systems, water supply, pavements and drainage."[5] The park initiative was not immune to the city plan's segregationist

Figure I-30. Koch and Fowler's *Plan Showing Present and Proposed Schools and Playground Areas* showing the existing schools and proposed schools and playgrounds. The map shows five existing schools and one proposed new school in East Austin at East 19th Street and Walnut Avenue at the eastern city limits.

emphasis. It only reinforced it by establishing minority parks under the guise of incentives to get African Americans to move to the east side.

The plan recommended that the City develop playgrounds, play fields, and neighborhood parks within city limits, as well as natural parks outside the city limits. Playgrounds, the plan outlined, should be extensions of school grounds when possible, and within East Austin, the plan recommended the "negro" high school (E. H. Anderson) acquire more land "to provide adequate space for a complete negro play-field."[6] The plan also recommended the addition of playgrounds to Metz School and John B. Winn Public School. Within East Austin, the plan recommended establishing a park near East 11th and East 12th Streets just east of the International and Great Northern (I–GN) Railroad in an area described as having rough topography "dotted with negro shacks."[7] A "negro" neighborhood park near East 11th and Chicon Streets was also recommended in the plan. Koch and Fowler also suggested the City commemorate the French Legation, called the "French Embassy" in the plan, and turn it into a small neighborhood park.

Outside its segregationist parameters, Koch and Fowler also stressed the importance of the land along the Colorado River and recommended the City buy the waterfront property from the state to develop into a large interconnected park with several neighborhood parks within it to serve local communities. Among the features of the riverside park recommended in the plan was a prominent boulevard along the river that connected to the proposed larger boulevard system, which included East Avenue.

2.5.3. LAND USE

The law allowing cities to enact zoning regulations, passed by the Texas Legislature one session prior to the city plan's publication, required them to be comprehensive and equal, cover the entire city, and be based on the public's health and safety rather than aesthetics.[8] Koch and Fowler created five different "Use Districts," each limited by the specific use of land and buildings within it:

- "A" Residential District: restricted to one- and two-family dwellings, churches, schools, libraries, farming and truck gardening.
- "B" Residential District: restricted to those uses permitted in "A" District, as well as apartment houses, hotels, private clubs, fraternities, boarding and lodging houses, hospitals, educational institutions, nurseries and greenhouses, and public garages (for storage only).
- "C" Residential/Commercial District: restricted to those uses permitted in "B" District, as well as a number of other retail businesses,
- "D" Industrial District: restricted to those uses permitted in "C" District and for a number of other industrial uses not particularly offensive.
- "E" Unrestricted District: restricted to those uses permitted in "D" District, as well as a number of slightly objectionable industrial uses and those uses which have been declared a nuisance in any court of record or which are in conflict with any ordinance of the city regulating nuisances.[9] (See *figure I-31*.)

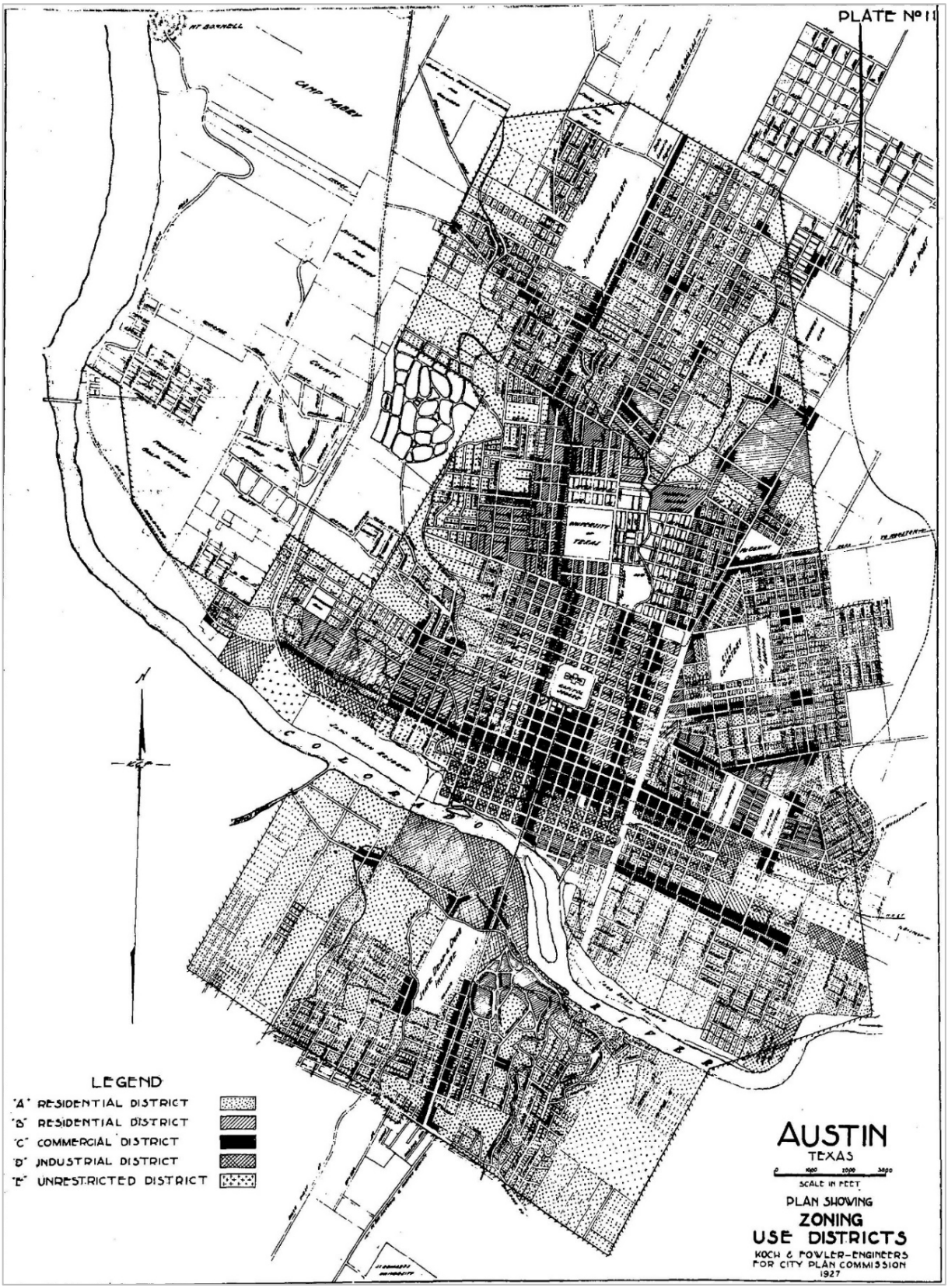


Figure I-31. Koch and Fowler's *Plan Showing Zoning Use Districts* map showing the proposed new zoning for the city. In East Austin, the proposed zoning essentially reinforces existing commercial and industrial areas of development, especially along East 3rd and East 5th Streets.

The Koch and Fowler plan's land-use map depicted the city's existing conditions (refer to *figure I-30*) and classified properties in three ways:

1. Business Property (meaning retail, commercial, office, storage, and industrial);
2. White Residential Property; and
3. Miscellaneous Residential Property (presumably meaning non-white residential use).

Public lands were left blank on the map. In East Austin, the map shows residential property north of East 1st (Cesar Chavez) Street primarily labeled "Miscellaneous," and south of East 1st largely "White." Business properties are shown to be clustered along East 6th, East 5th, and East 4th Streets, as well as along Rosewood Avenue, East 11th Street, and East 12th Street, with various street corners also identified as "business property." When comparing the existing 1927 conditions on Koch and Fowler's land-use map with their *Plan Showing Zoning Use Districts* map (refer to *figure I-31*), the proposed zoning reinforced existing commercial and industrial areas of development. More importantly, East Austin was subject to some of the city's weakest zoning restrictions and was also the site of the city's largest proposed industrial district. The area between East 3rd and East 5th Streets, from Chalmers Avenue east to the city limits, is the only area in the city zoned "E," allowing for the development of "slightly objectionable industrial uses."[10] This industrial zone's creation would result in the loss of what the plan labels both white and Black residential property primarily along East 3rd and East 1st Streets.

The proposed creation of an industrial zone in East Austin highlighted the unequal treatment of the city's minority populations. Koch and Fowler saw the area around East 5th Street in East Austin as "well adapted and suitable for an industrial area."[11] Central and West Austin, on the other hand, were deemed not suited for industry and the accompanying noise and nuisances because it was an "area which is being absorbed at the present time as a high class residential area."[12] To remove industrial "nuisances" from Central and West Austin, Koch and Fowler recommended that I–GN trains bypass those areas, through which their tracks ran at the time, and instead use the H&TC tracks that ran through the East Austin. This plan also required building a new set of tracks south of both East 5th Street and the H&TC lines, so that I–GN trains could connect back to the rail line south of town. By removing the I–GN tracks from the town's west side, industries serviced by them would move to the new industrial district on the east side, creating more desirable residential areas in West Austin and less desirable living conditions in the proposed "negro district."

2.5.4. TRAFFIC PATTERNS AND STREET NETWORK

Koch and Fowler's plan also focused on improving vehicular traffic flow throughout the city. The plan highlighted significant streets and those which would benefit the city by becoming major thoroughfares (see *figure I-32*, to follow).

Figure I-32. Koch and Fowler's *Plan Showing Proposed Major Streets* highlighting the proposed city streets recommended as major thoroughfares. The plan proposed East Avenue, Manor Road, East 12th Street, Rosewood Avenue, East 11th, East 7th, East 6th, East 1st, Holly, Comal, Chicon, and Canadian Streets as major roadways in East Austin.

Koch and Fowler foresaw the significance of East Avenue as an important artery within the city, observing that it was "destined to be the backbone for all traffic in the eastern portion of the City."[13] East Avenue was only partially improved at the time Koch and Fowler authored the plan; however, they recommended that the thoroughfare be paved and that a bridge should be constructed at its southern terminus, allowing its extension across the Colorado River (presaging the interstate highway of later years). The plan also called for East Avenue to be developed as a boulevard—a double trafficway with a park center—from the river to 19th Street.[14] Other recommended boulevards in East Austin included East 19th Street and Pleasant Valley Road.

The plan also identified specific streets that should play a major role in handling the growing amount of automobile traffic in the city. In East Austin, these streets included east–west thoroughfares Manor Road, East 12th Street, Rosewood Avenue, East 11th, East 7th, East 6th, and East 1st, and Holly Streets. Proposed north–south thoroughfares included Comal, Chicon, and Canadian Streets. Comal and Chicon Streets were recommended as the ideal streets to bypass downtown and provide access from northern Austin to the industrial district.

[1] Koch and Fowler, *A City Plan for Austin, Texas* (Austin: City of Austin, 1928), 57.

[2] Noticeably absent from the plan is a discussion of Austin's Hispanic population, or reference to a "Hispanic district." This should not suggest that Mexican Americans were seen as equals, as Hispanic churches later moved to the Austin's east side and Parque Zaragoza, or the "Mexican park," later developed on the town's east side to serve this community.

[3] The plan does not distinguish between elementary, junior high, or high school, but instead uses only "school."

[4] The plan proposed seven new schools outside of East Austin. The proposed location for six of these schools bordered the city limits in South, West, and North Austin, presumably where Koch and Fowler predicted more development and population increases.

[5] Koch and Fowler, 20.

[6] Ibid., 57.

[7] Ibid., 32.

[8] Ibid, 51.

[9] Ibid, 52-53.

[10] Ibid., 53.

[11] Ibid., 47.

[12] Ibid., 48.

[13] Ibid., 14.

[14] Ibid., 15.

2.6. Depression Era and World War II, 1929–1945

The Depression and World War II eras represent a period of significant transformation in East Austin. Not only did national and global events impact East Austin, but to a greater extent, local developments profoundly shaped the area's cultural, architectural, and socio-economic character. Austin's population doubled between 1930 and 1950 (see *Table I-5* and *figure I-33*), prompting local business and civic leaders to attempt to influence, direct, and control growth in a more organized fashion. Adopting the overt segregationist provisions of Koch and Fowler's 1928 zoning plan as described in *Section 2.5*, the city proceeded to establish a "negro district" in East Austin through the 1930s, 1940s, and beyond.

Table I-5. Demographic Changes in Austin from 1920 through 1940.

Year	Total Population			White			Black			Foreign Born		
	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total
1950	132,459	50.6	100	114,652	57.0	86.56	17,667	18.9	13.3	3,715	23.0	2.8
1940	87,930	65.5	100	73,025	68.9	83.0	14,861	50.6	16.9	3,020	-0.7	3.4
1930	53,120	52.3	100	43,223	54.8	81.4	9,868	42.6	18.6	3,042	18.7	5.7
1920	34,876	N/A	100	27,928	N/A	80.1	6,921	N/A	19.8	2,562	N/A	7.3

Note that this data is for the City of Austin as a whole. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Selected Historical Decennial Census Population and Housing Counts, accessed June 16, 2016, https://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html.

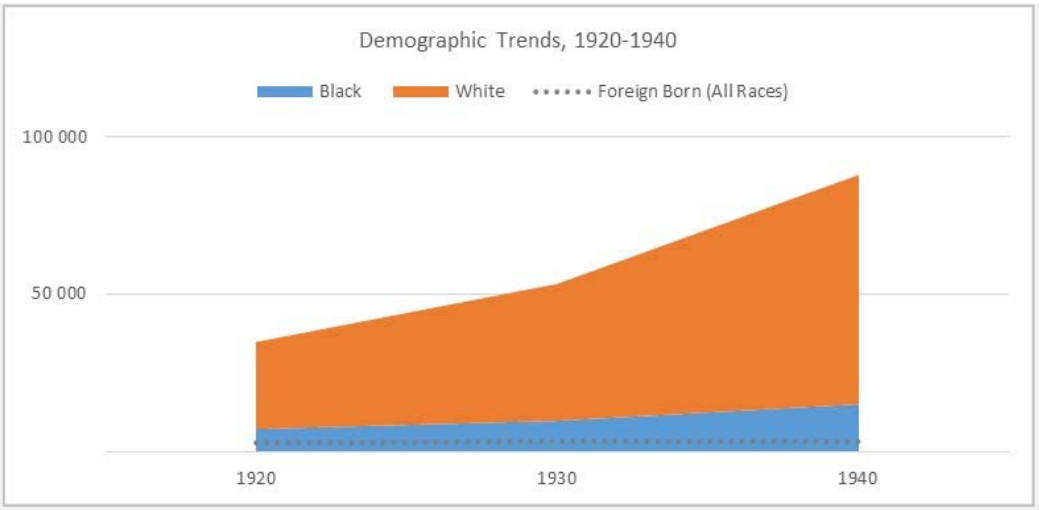


Figure I-33. Graph depicting demographic changes in Austin from 1920 through 1940. Note that this data is for the City of Austin as a whole. Source: U.S. Census, Selected Historical Decennial Census Population and Housing Counts, Table 32, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States" and Table 5. "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-born Population of the United States," accessed June 16, 2016, https://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html. Refer to *Figure I-6* previously shown in *Section 2.3.1* for additional background regarding the lack of differentiation of non-Hispanic Whites, as well as the definition of the "Black" demographic.

These segregation policies triggered enormous demographic shifts (*figure I-34*). The multi-ethnic quality that had once distinguished East Austin waned as Black and Hispanic populations largely replaced the Swede, German, and Anglo-American communities in this area. This trend included African

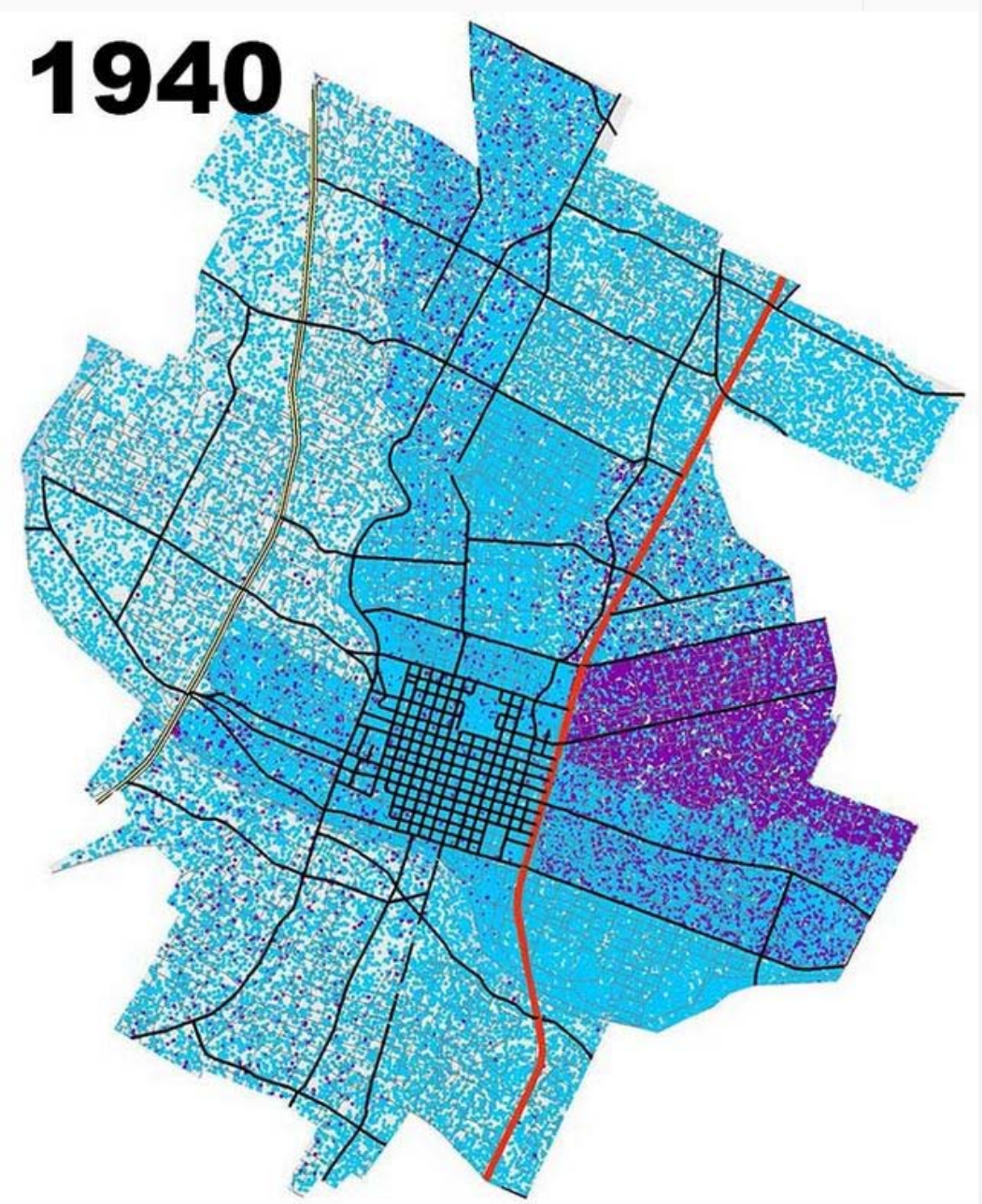


Figure I-34. Map showing population distribution in 1940, with blue representing the white population and purple representing "Black." Note that Hispanic populations are not differentiated. The red line represents East Avenue/IH 35. Source: Dan Zehr, "Inheriting inequality," *Austin American-Statesman*, accessed June 22, 2016, http://projects.statesman.com/news/economic-mobility/; citing "Austin Restricted" (Tretter, 2012) from U.S. Census data.

Americans, who moved into the area from other parts of the city, but also included a growing number of Mexican Americans, many of whom were new to Austin. Hispanic families lived in East Austin and other parts of the city throughout much of its history. The population of Mexican immigrants in Austin grew considerably during the first decades of the 1900s, as political instability and revolution in Mexico led many to flee their home country, but leveled off somewhat after 1930.[1] These immigrants sought steady jobs, better pay, and the opportunity to purchase land in the area.[2] Toward the end of the 1920s, white residents of Austin began to react negatively to the Hispanic population boom, and like African Americans (yet to a lesser extent), Mexicans and Mexican Americans became targets of racial discrimination. Subject to limited housing choices due to the financial costs and racial

covenants that barred sales to "non-Caucasians," Hispanics in Austin established their own enclave south of East 8th Street, near the Colorado River's northern bank.

These demographic shifts in East Austin and the restrictions imposed upon non-white residents living there made for a community with a sense of unity and self-reliance in the face of social injustice. The segregated district contained its own businesses, churches, schools, parks, public housing, and social communities. Residents of East Austin owned and rented property, frequented various churches, and enjoyed patronizing restaurants, ice cream parlors, movie theaters, and hotels. Yet they only had these opportunities within the confines of the segregated district. Moreover, as the minority population in East Austin grew and the district became increasingly more divided from the rest of Austin, the city did not maintain utility and transportation lines. With the deterioration of the area's infrastructure, slum conditions became prevalent. (See *Section 2.7.3* for more information on this subject.) Many New Deal housing policies introduced measures to stimulate the stagnating economy, such as encouraging private covenants and deed restrictions by the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), and the construction of the nation's first public housing projects in East Austin. These policies further reinforced segregation within the city.

Housing options for East Austin residents during the Depression era consisted mostly of rental homes constructed during previous decades. Some of these were relatively grand Victorian homes, formerly owned and occupied by Black families or some of the Anglo, Italian, Swedish, Irish, and German families that populated East Austin before the city's segregation of the district. Many of the rentals were "Hofheinz houses," as described in *Section 2.4.1.2.3*; modest vernacular dwellings featuring pyramidal roofs, four-room or double shotgun plans, erected by the German-American insurance salesman Oscar Hofheinz in large numbers in East Austin between 1910 and 1935.[3] The prevalence of dwellings built in East Austin with the express function as rentals suggests a growing demand for housing. The relocation of well-established entities—such as Our Lady of Guadalupe Church and large employers such as the AusTex Chili Factory—to East Austin spurred an influx of Mexican Americans to the area. Many new residents had jobs at the chili factory and other industrial businesses in the area and could therefore afford to purchase lots and build modest homes in the undeveloped parts of East Austin.[4] Moving closer to the World War II era, as slum conditions emerged and worsened, government-sponsored public housing projects were constructed in East Austin, providing another option for residents in the district.

2.6.1. EFFECTS OF THE 1928 KOCH AND FOWLER PLAN

The City of Austin successfully implemented the Koch and Fowler plan by making municipal services and amenities such as schools, sewers, and parks available only to Black (and Hispanic) neighborhoods east of East Avenue (future IH 35). In 1929, the city established the "Rosewood Avenue Park and Playground for Colored" in East Austin in accordance with the plan. Conversely, the city barred public services to other parts of Austin where

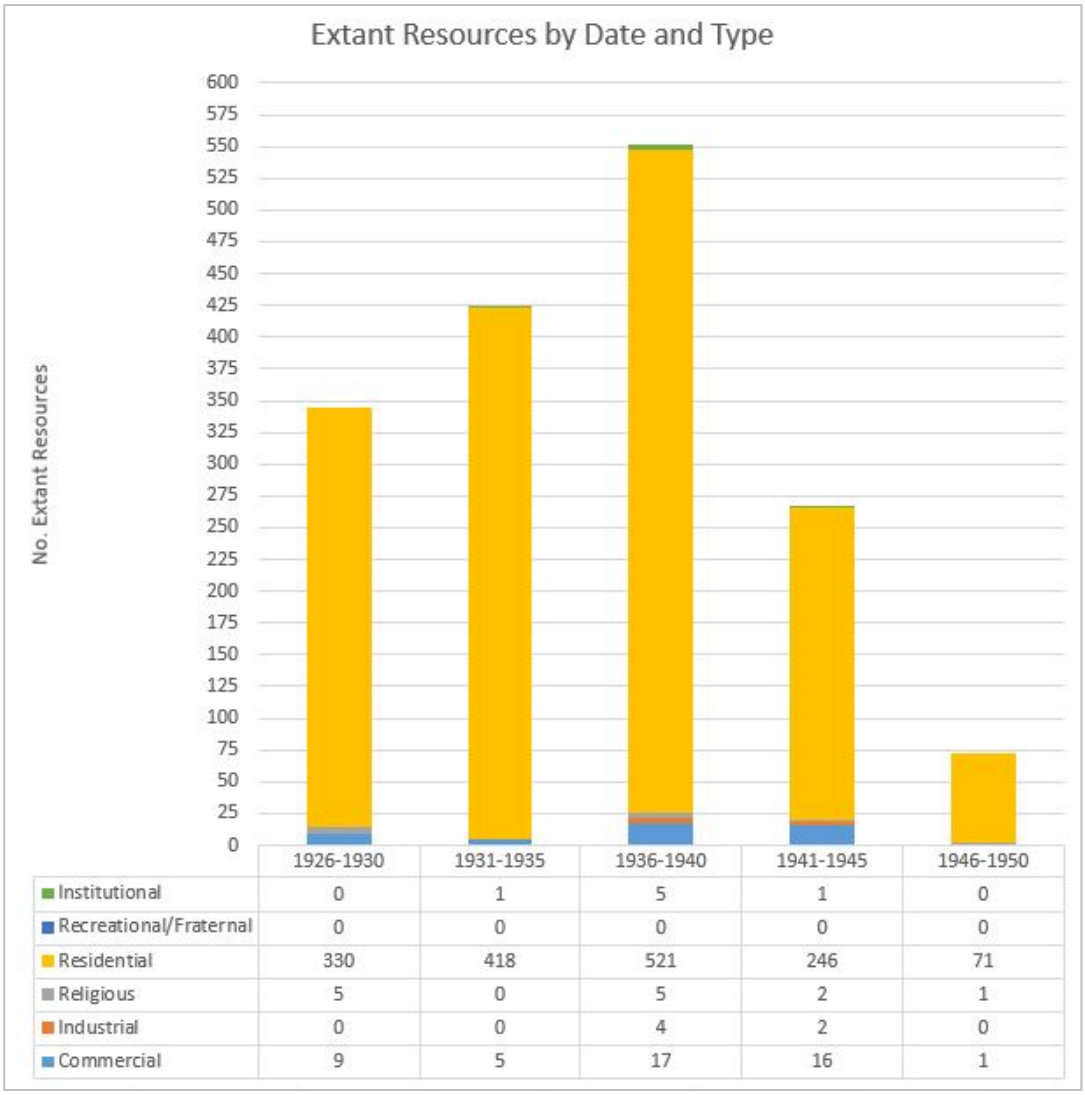
African Americans lived (further discussed in *Section 2.7*). By the time the Koch and Fowler Plan was adopted, the local African American population had already begun migrating toward East Austin to seek affordable property and job opportunities available in the area. Nearly all of East 12th Street, from East Avenue to the eastern city limits, was occupied by African Americans, many of whom owned their homes. Formerly white establishments along East 12th Street changed hands as the Black population increased.

While no constitutionally sanctioned separate-but-equal standards for Hispanics existed, this population group had experienced severe limitations in their geographical mobility due to the land prices, racially discriminating covenants, and social prejudice. For example, Mexican immigrants lived in a small area west of Congress Avenue, near the confluence of Shoal Creek and the Colorado River as early as the 1880s. Over time, rising crime, flooding, and trash and sewage from the nearby city dump deteriorated neighborhood conditions to such an extent that residents began migrating to the town's east side. The construction of a new power plant (currently the Seaholm power plant) accelerated the trend; by the 1930s, most of the city's Hispanic population lived in East Austin. This group formed a community south of the city's African American concentration, between East 5th Street and 1st (Cesar Chavez) Street; an area that, likely unbeknownst to them, was zoned for industrial and heavy commercial uses in the 1928 Koch and Fowler plan.[5] This area, known as The Flats, had been occupied by low-income German and Swede families, but they left as Mexican Americans moved in to East Austin.[6] Comparable to measures taken by city officials to draw African Americans out of other parts of the city, schools for Mexican Americans were built in East Austin to attract the growing Mexican population away from the expanding business district downtown as well as to encourage concentrations of non-white groups away from white neighborhoods.[7]

2.6.1.1. Residential Patterns

Prior to the implementation of the 1928 Koch & Fowler plan, residential subdivisions in East Austin stretched to roughly Chestnut Avenue and the A&NW railroad tracks, as illustrated by *figure I-13* previously shown in *Section 2.4*. Within that area, the areas near East Avenue were densely developed, but ample undeveloped land remained scattered throughout most of the rest of East Austin, especially east of Comal Street. After 1928, a number of factors increased the demand for housing in East Austin, causing a spike in construction, as *Table I-6* reveals. From 1928 through 1936, most of this demand was created by the Koch & Fowler plan, which pressured Black families to move to East Austin to access municipal services. After 1936, the movement of African American and Mexican American families to East Austin was amplified by the rise of restrictive covenants confining other areas of town to white residents only (as further discussed below in *Section 2.6.2*.)

While Black Austinites historically lived throughout the city, by 1930 most Black families resided only in East Austin,[8] and by 1940, Black families accounted for the vast majority of the population of East Austin north of East 11th Street (refer to *figure I-34*). The nexus of this growth was formed by



	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940	1941-1945	1946-1950
Institutional	0	1	5	1	0
Recreational/Fraternal	0	0	0	0	0
Residential	330	418	521	246	71
Religious	5	0	5	2	1
Industrial	0	0	4	2	0
Commercial	9	5	17	16	1

Table I-6. Graph depicting trends in construction dates of extant resources within the East Austin Historic Resources Survey boundaries. As the graph indicates, the pace of construction was quickest during the years between 1936 and 1940. During each time period, residential construction accounted for the vast majority of construction. Note that this data does not account for resources that were constructed during these time frames but later demolished. Source: HHM survey data, 2016.

longstanding freedmen communities, such as Masontown, Gregorytown, and Robertson Hill, which served as the earliest areas with concentrations of African American residences in East Austin. After 1928, many Black families that moved into East Austin clustered near these earlier freedmen communities, renting or purchasing homes from Swedish, German, and Irish immigrants who built houses near Robertson Hill, as well as further north on East 13th and East 14th Streets.[9] The Robertson Hill area was especially attractive to African Americans moving from other parts of the city, because, as an established "negro district" in the Koch & Fowler plan, residents received amenities from the city. In and around Robertson Hill, new houses were constructed on any available land. Narrow shotgun houses and small detached back houses were common solutions to create additional housing within this already dense area (*figures I-35* and *I-36*). New residential development also stretched further east, toward the locations of the "colored" Gregory Town School and Anderson High School. Nearby, the area between East 11th Street and Rosewood Avenue became the new core of the African American

Figure I-35. Photograph of 1215 Inks Avenue, a typical example of the shotgun house form constructed in the Robertson Hill area to create additional density after the implementation of the 1928 plan. Although Sanborn Maps show that shotgun houses were very common in and around Robertson Hill in the 1930s, the form has grown rare today. Note that this example has been altered by the replacement of its doors, windows, and exterior wall materials, yet because its shotgun form remains recognizable it meets the criteria to be contributing to a potential Robertson Hill Historic District. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

Figure I-36. Photograph showing a typical rear auxiliary house at 1206 East 13th Street, constructed in the areas surrounding the Robertson Hill area to create additional density after the implementation of the 1928 plan. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

community in East Austin, where stores, restaurants, and other business establishments increasingly catered to the Black community.[10]

Because this area was less densely developed prior to 1928, space was available to construct a more substantial new home, such as the residence of the first African American doctor in Austin, Reverend J. H. Harrington, at 1173 San Bernard Street (*figure I-37*). In another example, the College Heights neighborhood between East 11th Street and Rosewood Avenue featured

Figure I-37. Photograph of the home of Austin's first Black doctor, Reverend J. H. Harrington, at 1173 San Bernard, constructed in 1929. This larger-scale house is an example of some of the infill construction that occurred east of Comal Street after 1928. Note that, although the house's exterior wall materials, windows, doors, and porch have been altered, it retains sufficient integrity to meet the criteria for a contributing resource within the potential San Bernard Historic District. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

examples of Craftsman bungalows that were indiscernible from the houses being built at the same time in neighborhoods across all areas of Austin (as further illustrated in *Appendix D*.) Yet financial circumstances constrained the size of most new construction for African Americans in East Austin, and modest, small bungalows without architectural ornament were the most prevalent type of house constructed for the growing African American population in the area. In fact, some simple, vernacular National Folk housing types continued to be constructed in this era because they were standardized and economical, despite the fact that they had fallen out of popular fashion. The many identical National Folk rental houses constructed by O. G. and E. J. Hofheinz continuing into the 1940s exemplify this trend. (Refer to *Section 2.4.1.2* for additional background on Hofheinz houses.)

Over time, the city's largest concentration of Hispanic residents occupied the area east of East Avenue and south of East 8th Street.[11] Because the 1928 Koch & Fowler plan did not explicitly prescribe systematic segregation of Austin's Hispanic community, the transition was slower, and noteworthy concentrations of white families remained, especially in the larger houses along East 1st (Cesar Chavez) Street, as well as the neighborhoods along Willow and Canterbury Streets. (Refer to Section 2.7.2.2 for additional discussion.) Eventually, East 11th Street would become considered to be the unofficial dividing line between Hispanic residents to the south and Black residents to the north, although the division was porous, with a considerable number of African Americans residing south of East 11th Street, as well as Hispanic and white residents interspersed north of East 11th Street (refer to *figure I-34*). The residential development patterns that occurred south of East 11th Street in this era nearly mirrored those north of East 11th Street, with

small-scale infill development in the older sections closer to East Avenue, combined with less dense development of modest bungalows further to the east. Because segregation of Mexican Americans was not as explicitly prescribed by the 1928 plan, in a number of instances Mexican American renters occupied auxiliary rear houses while white owners continued to occupy the front house.

Despite Koch and Fowler's recommendation to provide utilities only to African Americans in the segregated district, East Austin did not receive municipal services such as paved streets, running water, and electricity lines as consistently or as quickly as other parts of Austin.[12] As more people moved into East Austin, the existing utilities could not accommodate the demands of the growing population. Whereas in planned communities and developed subdivisions, residents might rely on services from the developer, in blighted areas such as East Austin, people could access utilities only through the municipal government.[13] (*Section 2.7* covers this issue in further detail.)

2.6.1.2. Schools and Libraries

By the time of the Great Depression and World War II era, segregated schools had evolved from one-room buildings into small- and medium-sized community schools exclusively designed for African American, Hispanic, or white children. The municipal services provided to East Austin to encourage Black and Hispanic groups to move there included public schools. At the time Koch and Fowler's plan was adopted, East Austin already contained the following specifically African American schools: Olive Street Elementary (1913–1947) and E. H. Anderson High School (1907–1938), which replaced the old Robertson Hill High School (1897–1910) and later became L. C. Anderson High School (1938–1971), named after E. H.'s brother (reference *Section 2.4.2.1.1* for information on Anderson brothers E. H. and L. C.).[14] Gregorytown School (1894–1936) offered junior high and high school courses and college preparatory classes to Black male and female students. Finally, East Austin boasted two colleges for African American students that included Tillotson College and Normal Institute (1881–1952) and Samuel Huston College (1878–1952); the two merged in 1952 (see *Section 2.7.3.2*). Only one segregated school—East Avenue School, later named Comal Streel School—served the Hispanic community at the time the 1928 plan went into effect.[15] School locations in East Austin mirrored the geographic distribution of household concentrations of their respective communities.[16]

In 1930, Kealing Junior High School became the first junior high school for Black students in Austin. Named after Hightower Theodore Kealing, a nineteenth-century African American educator, writer, editor, and activist in Austin, the school was situated at the northeast corner of Angelina Street and Rosewood Avenue (see *figure I-38*). Professor I. Q. Hurdle served as the school's first principal from 1930 to 1939. He was succeeded by Professor T. C. Calhoun who held the position until 1971.[17]

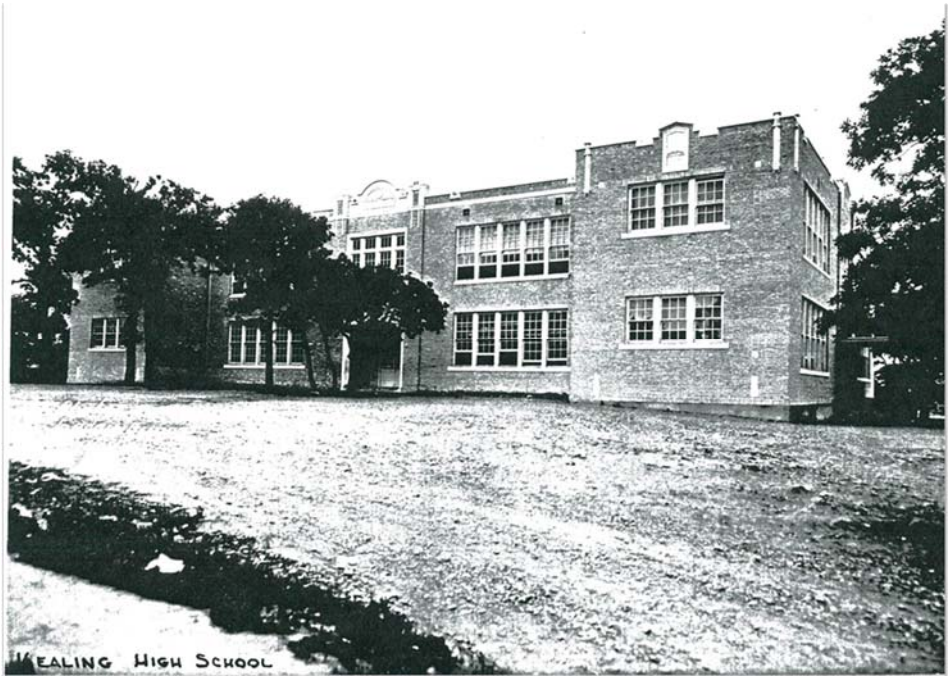


Figure I-38. Photograph of Kealing Junior High School, date unknown. The original building that housed Kealing Junior High School, constructed in 1930, was a symmetrical two-story brick edifice that featured ribbons of double-hung sash windows and a parapets marking the entrance. A larger modern edifice replaced the original building in 1986. Photo courtesy of Austin History Center.

A 1933 Chamber of Commerce map (*figure I-39*, to follow) of Austin shows the following schools situated in East Austin at that time: Samuel Huston College for Colored, Anderson High School, Kealing Junior High School, Tillotson College, Gregory Town School, John B. Winn School, and Metz School.

During the 1930s, the rapidly-growing Hispanic population in East Austin spurred the opening of a new segregated school for Latino children. In 1935, Austin architects Giesecke and Harris completed a design for the 12-room brick schoolhouse. The Zavala School opened the following year and its name honors Lorenzo de Zavala, the only native of Mexico to sign the Texas Declaration of Independence and who later served as Vice-President of the Republic of Texas.[18] When the school opened, Hispanic children attending Palm, Metz, Bickler, and Comal Street schools were required to transfer to Zavala.[19] The closing of Comal Street School soon followed after Zavala's opening. The construction of Santa Rita Courts and Chalmers Court (federal housing projects) nearby led to a rise in the population (for more information see *Section 2.6.2*). To accommodate the community's growing needs, multiple additions to the school ensued in the late 1930s through the 1940s.[20]

The 1928 plan and its segregation policies extended to other public services at the local level. Another civic improvement proposed by the 1928 plan included the construction of a new public library to replace the original one located at the corner of West 9th and Guadalupe Streets. Around this time, East Austin residents along with the American Association of University Women petitioned the city about the need for a public library in their community. In 1933, to make room for the new library, the city moved the existing downtown public library—a wood-frame building constructed in 1926—to Angelina Street in East Austin to serve as the "Colored Branch Library." Directed by Hattie Henson from 1933–1943, this became the first branch

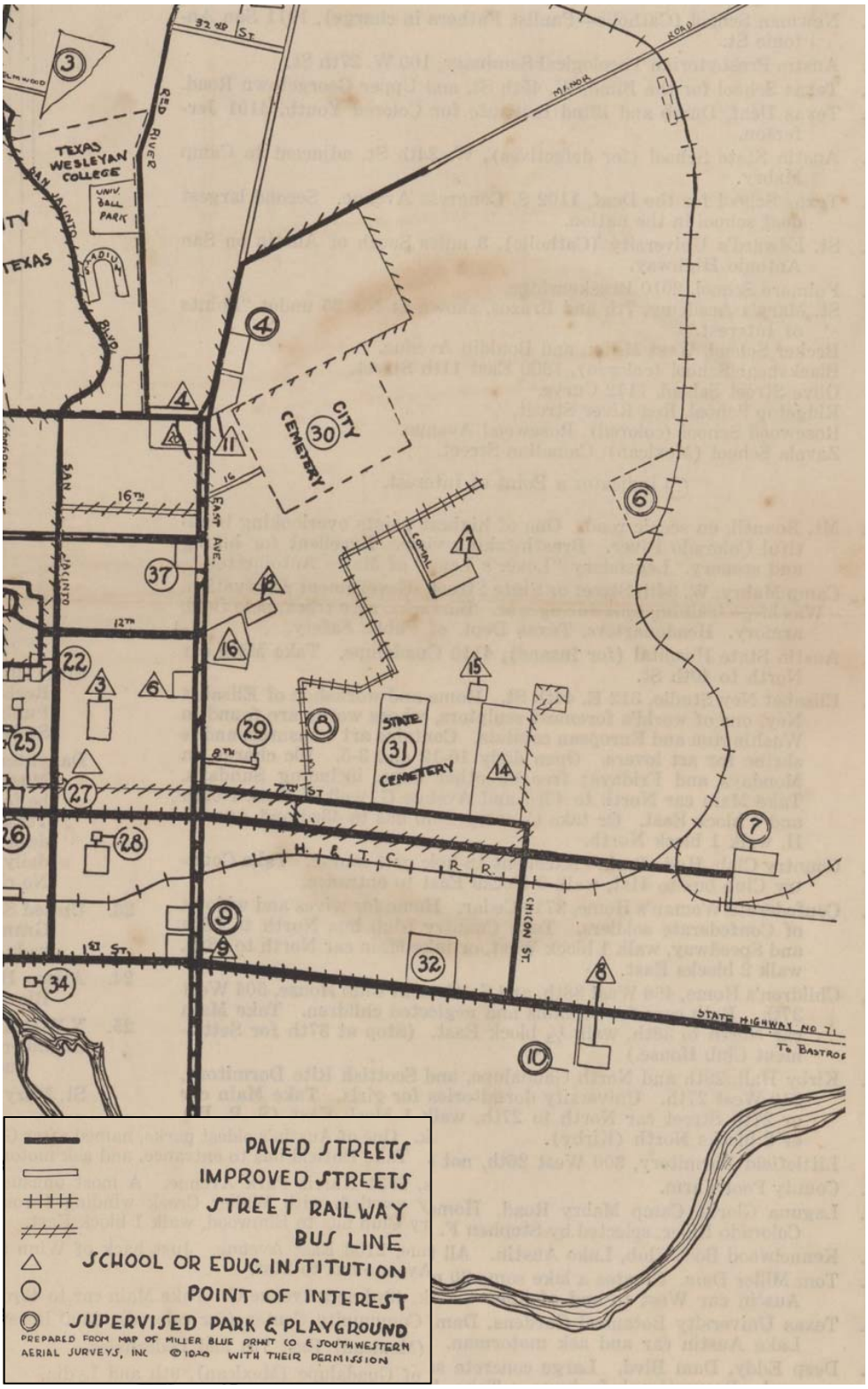


Figure I-39. Detail of *Austin Chamber of Commerce, November 1933, Map of the City of Austin, Texas*. This map detail reveals the relationship between transportation infrastructure—including paved roads, streetcar lines, and bus routes—and important landmarks like schools. From north to south, the schools depicted in East Austin are:

- 11 – John B. Winn School
- 17 – Anderson High School
- 18 – Kealing Junior High School
- 16 – Samuel Huston College
- 15 – Gregory Town School
- 14 – Tillotson College
- 9 – Palm School
- 8 – Metz School

Map source: Austin Chamber of Commerce, Courtesy of Austin History Center.

library in the Austin library system. The relocated building still stands today and houses the George Washington Carver Library and Museum (see *figure I-40*).

Figure I-40. Photograph of the Carver Branch of the Austin Public Library in 1938. Formerly serving as the Austin Central Library downtown at the corner of West 9th and Guadalupe Streets, the building was moved to its current location in 1933 to function as East Austin's "Colored Branch Library." Despite the fact that the edifice was moved from its original location and its exterior walls have been replaced, the building retains sufficient integrity to convey a sense of the past. It is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and as a designated local landmark. The Carver Branch Library possesses significance as Austin's first library to serve African Americans. Today the building houses the George Washington Carver Museum. Photo source: Bureau of Identification Photographic Laboratory, *Austin Public Library, Carver Branch*, 1938, photograph, accessed June 29, 2016, texashistory.unt.edu/ ark:/67531/metapth123922/, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*.

2.6.1.3. Parks

As economic growth came to a standstill during the Great Depression, establishment of and improvements to city parks were among the few major construction projects to occur in the city. Government-sponsored work-relief programs designed to provide jobs and stimulate the economy led to the creation and enhancement of Austin's parks, including East Austin. With a significant increase of the population in East Austin during the early 1900s and city officials' desire to contain the minority population within the segregated east side district, the city established several parks for the Black and Hispanic communities in the 1930s and 1940s. While central Austin already had several parks, including the four designated in Waller's 1839 plan—Wooldridge Park, Brush Square, Northeast Square, and Republic Square—the citizens living in East Austin lacked formal City-sponsored neighborhood public recreational facilities for another two decades (see *figure I-41*).[21]

One of East Austin's earliest parks was Rosewood Park, located along the Boggy Creek Greenbelt near Chestnut and Rosewood Avenues. It encompassed the former Bertram-Huppertz Homestead, which Rudolph Bertram (discussed previously in *Section 2.3.2.2*) acquired in 1875. In 1929, the City of Austin purchased the land for Rosewood Park from the Huppertz family

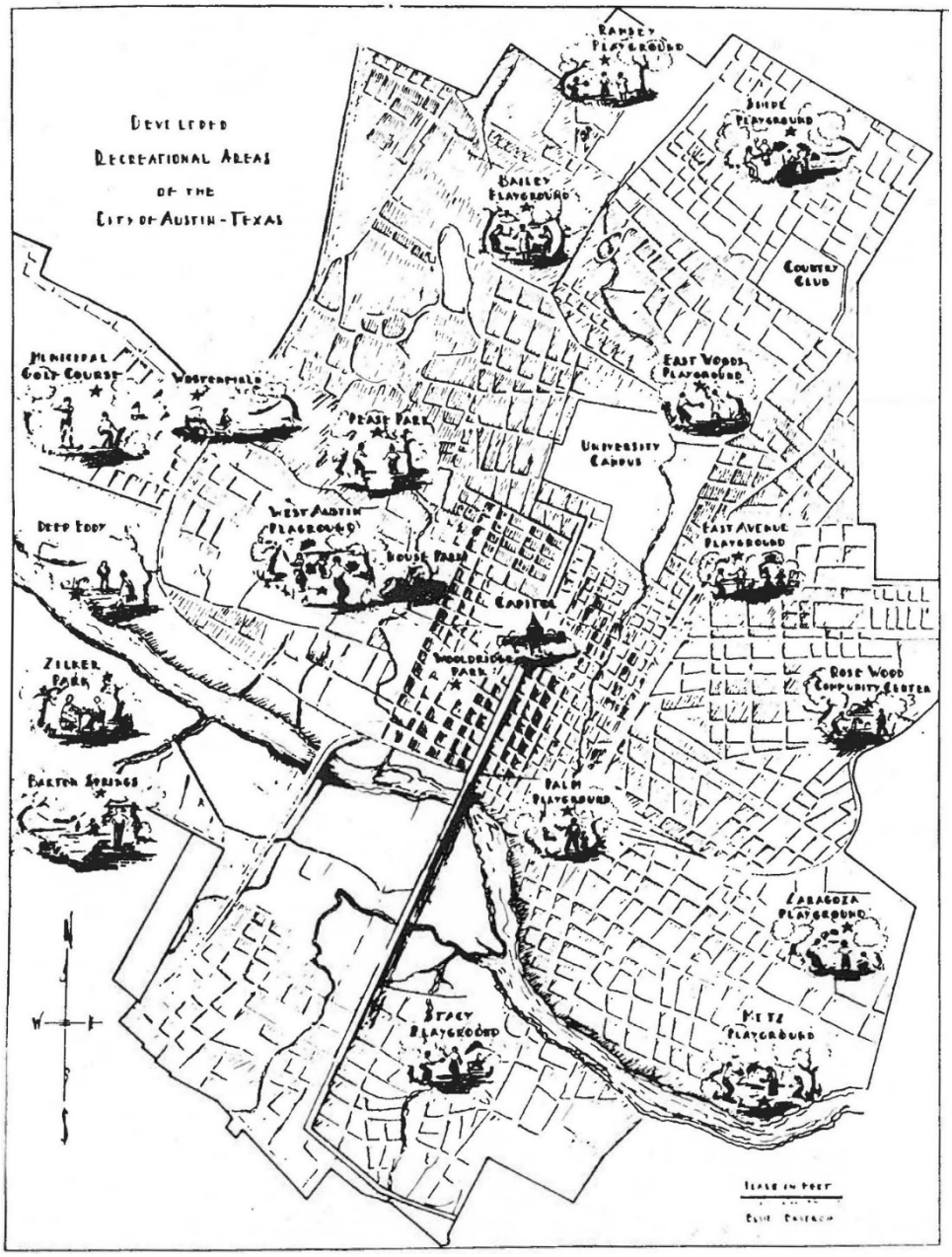


Figure I-41. *Developed Map Recreational Areas of the City of Austin, Texas, 1937*. This map was created by the City of Austin in 1937 and shows the presence of the following parks in East Austin: East Avenue Playground, Rosewood Community Center, Palm Playground, Zaragoza Playground, and Metz Playground. Map source: City of Austin, courtesy Austin History Center.

for $13,500. One year later, the Negro Division of the City Recreation Department opened the park, which consisted of 14 acres and a small swimming pool. Developed as Austin's first "negro neighborhood park," and in keeping with the recommendations of the 1926 Austin City Plan Commission and the 1928 Koch and Fowler master plan, it became a central hub for the Black community, hosting the first city-sponsored Juneteenth celebration the year it opened (see *figure I-42*).

Prior to the creation of Rosewood Park, the Black community recreated in an area referred to as "Middle East Avenue Park" or the "Negro Park" in the stretch of land at the center of East Avenue between East 11th and East 12th Streets.[22]

Figure I-42. Photograph of children swimming and playing at Rosewood Park in 1938. Rosewood Park served as the first recreational facility exclusively for African Americans. Photo source: Ellison Photo Service, *Children swimming at Rosewood Park*, August 19, 1938, photograph, from the University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, accessed June 29, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth124743/.

Throughout the 1930s, the city completed numerous changes and improvements at Rosewood Park in the process of converting the grounds and house into a park and recreational facility. The changes include the construction of entry columns, a bandstand, steps and retaining walls that lead to the sports field (*figure I-43*), modifications to the historic house, as well as construction of a swimming pool. The Civil Works Force Administration completed some of the labor for the work at Rosewood Park as part of the New Deal relief programs.[23]

Figure I-43. Photograph of Rosewood Recreation Center, 1936. The photograph shows the historic Bertram-Huppertz home, which became the clubhouse after the segregated park's establishment. This view shows the side of the two-story house, designed by architect Joseph Sherwin. The stone steps and ball field appear in the foreground. Photo source: Bureau of Identification Photographic Lab, Austin, *Main Building and baseball field at Rosewood Recreation Center*, 1936, photograph, accessed June 29, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth124745/, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*.

The most significant development at Rosewood Park took place in 1944 during World War II, when the City of Austin built a recreation building to serve as an auditorium and gymnasium. Sited at the park's southwest corner, the multi-use facility was operated by the United Service Organization (USO) when it first opened. The building was later dedicated as the Rosewood Community Center in 1946, and subsequently renamed the Doris Miller Auditorium, in

honor of Doris "Dorie" Miller, the first African American to earn the Navy Cross for his actions during the attack on Pearl Harbor (see *figure I-79* in *Section 2.7.3.1*).

Not long after Rosewood Park opened, the city purchased 9.3 acres bisected by Boggy Creek at the city's eastern edge from W. S. Benson with the purpose of creating Zaragoza Park.[24] Established as a segregated facility for the expanding local Hispanic population, the new park quickly became a cultural center for the community (see *figure I-44*). The park was named after General Ignacio Zaragoza, commander of the Mexican forces that defeated the French in 1862 at the Battle of Puebla, however the City incorrectly spelled the name "Zaragosa" until 1989, when the Zaragoza Advisory Board petitioned to correct the mistake. Soon after the land purchase, community members and

Figure I-44. Photograph of children playing at Zaragoza Park, date unknown. Photo source: Identification Bureau, Police Department, Austin, TX, *Zaragoza Recreation Center*, photograph, date unknown, accessed June 30, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth124547/, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*.

activists created the Zaragoza Park Board to manage the facility. The first members of the board included Severino Guerra, Amador Candelas, and Miguel Guerrero.[25] Guerra, a prominent figure in the community, had served in the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and founded a branch of the *Caza Azul* (Blue Cross), a community-based welfare organization that offered medical services to East Austin residents. Candelas was a highly regarded business leader who held "midnight movies" for Mexican Americans in downtown Austin.[26] Along with the Zaragoza Park Board, the *Comite Patrióticos*—a local organization formed to promote Mexican patriotism and foster good relations between the United States and Mexico through the celebration of *fiestas patrias*—organized events, planned celebrations, and helped build the park. In the 1930s, Zaragoza Park hosted celebrations for *Diez y Seis de Septiembre* and *Cinco de Mayo*, which commemorated Mexico's Independence Day and the victory at the Battle of Puebla by General Zaragoza, respectively. The festivities took place over multiple days and included food, live music, and traditional dances. Baseball also attracted many people to Zaragoza Park and evolved into

an important cultural aspect of the park. The first Mexican baseball league in Austin formed in 1931, and Zaragoza Park served as the location for almost all the games in the city.[27] In 1941, the National Youth Administration, a New Deal agency, organized a group of residents in the neighborhood to build a recreation center at the park's northwest corner. Originally envisioned as the swimming pool's bathhouse, which was built in 1933, the two-room brick edifice served as Zaragoza Park's only indoor facility for the next 50 years. The park still remains an important cultural centerpiece for Austin's Mexican American community.

The city opened another recreational facility, Metz Playgrounds, in 1933, through bond purchases to accommodate the Latino community's recreational needs. Located on Pedernales Street between Canterbury and Holly Streets, the park contained the city sewage disposal plant, built in 1914. Along with a playground, the park featured a swimming pool (*figure I-45*). The existence of a city sewage disposal plant within a park exemplifies the city's habit of locating undesirable and "unsightly" sanitation infrastructure and businesses of "objectionable industrial use," (as described by Koch and Fowler as a "menace to the health of the neighborhood") to the section of the city where African Americans and Mexican Americans resided. These communities were subject to the effects of hazardous and polluting industries and infrastructure nearby so whites living elsewhere in Austin could enjoy healthy and aesthetically pleasing surroundings. Compounding the adverse effects that the undesirable industries and infrastructures had on the environment, the city also failed to provide consistent sanitation services to East Austin's residents. These factors contributed to the district's slum conditions.

Figure I-45. Photograph of children playing at the Metz Park swimming pool, date unknown. Photo courtesy of Austin History Center, Austin Public Library.

In 1941, a group of activists transformed the vacant Comal Street School, which closed during the mid-1930s, into an education and recreation center referred to as *Parque Comal*. The center became a place for political organizing for over a decade by various activist groups, including the Century Club, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), Mexican Patriotic Club, Club Beneficiencia, and American Friends' Services. These groups

collaborated and formed a cohesive neighborhood-based conglomerate in 1942 called the Pan American Roundtable. The Austin City Council appropriated funds to employ a part-time director for the recreational center. It opened as an official place of recreation in 1943 under the auspices of the Federated Latin American Clubs and was directed by the Austin Parks and Recreation Center. The center was named the Pan American Recreation Center (see *Section 2.7* for additional information).

2.6.2. HOUSING POLICIES AND RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT IN EAST AUSTIN

Measures taken by the federal government less than a decade after the adoption of Koch and Fowler's plan would further reinforce the separation of African Americans and Mexican Americans in East Austin from whites in the rest of the city. As part of New Deal policies to rebuild the economy during the Great Depression, the government established the Housing and Loan Corporation (HOLC) in 1933 to help struggling homeowners avoid foreclosure by offering financial assistance through low-interest mortgages. As part of the process, the HOLC worked with local realtors and lenders to appraise real estate risk levels in over 200 cities across the country. They rated neighborhoods based on housing stock, sales and rental rates, physical attributes of the surrounding terrain, and "threat of infiltration of foreign-born, negro, or lower grade population." The agency produced "security maps" that assigned residential areas a grade from one ("low risk") to four ("high risk"): areas considered undesirable received a grade of four, or "hazardous," and were colored red (refer to *figure II-76* in the *Citywide Context, Section 1.4.1.6*).[28] The security map created for Austin in 1934 shows that the area of East Austin with the highest concentration of African Americans (north of East First Street) was marked "hazardous," while most of the section with Hispanic residents (south of East 1st Street) was classified as "definitely declining." Notably, the security map identified the area bound by East Avenue to the west, Taylor and Garden Streets to the south, Llano Street to the east, and East 1st Street to the north as "still desirable." The 1934 Austin security map suggests Mexican Americans were viewed as different from African Americans, yet still considered a risk in terms of investment potential for their neighborhood.

Another essential element of the New Deal's plan to reverse the decline of the real estate market was the creation of mortgage insurance guaranteed by FHA. Although historians disagree somewhat about how the HOLC maps were distributed and used, some historians believe that the maps may have been used by the FHA to determine which areas were eligible to receive FHA-backed mortgage insurance.[29] Regardless of the precise origin, mortgage lenders unquestionably discriminated against loan applicants based on the racial makeup of their neighborhood, regardless of their individual financial credentials, in a process known as "redlining." Redlining essentially excluded minority groups from obtaining a mortgage.[30] Redlining also encouraged "white flight" from the racially mixed areas, as evidenced by the relocation of German and Swede families in The Flats when large numbers of Mexican Americans moved to the area. Typical real estate practices of the day

compounded the effects of redlining, with Realtors seldom showing property in majority-white neighborhoods to minorities because of the belief that even a small infusion of minorities would trigger white flight and plummet real estate values in the neighborhood as a whole.[31]

Meanwhile, a new set of guidelines issued in 1936 by the FHA and designed to boost home ownership and stimulate economic growth put into motion strict zoning and private restrictions meant to influence developers to design "better" neighborhoods. The FHA encouraged "protective covenants" in the development of subdivisions and asserted they were "an absolute necessity if good neighborhoods and stable property values are to be maintained."[32] As a result, the Austin City Council began allowing subdivisions to exclude African Americans and Mexican Americans through the implementation of race restrictive covenants. These covenants became commonplace in the new residential suburbs that were developing in West Austin and North Austin.[33] These racially discriminatory housing policies, along with a lack of city services in some areas, contributed to the overpopulation of East Austin and the rise of slum living standards.[34] The very policies that would ignite suburban growth and help propel the national economy out of a depression further marginalized minority groups in East Austin and exacerbated their worsening living conditions. (This discussion is continued in *Section 2.7.2.*)

The Great Depression years witnessed an acute shortage of affordable housing for low-income families across the country. Congress passed the United States Housing Act in 1937, marking the federal government's first permanent commitment to slum clearance and the establishment of low-cost public housing. The new law made it the federal government's official policy to resolve the issue of unsafe and unsanitary living conditions plaguing low-income neighborhoods. Upon the bill's passage, the United States Housing Authority (USHA) was created, whose main purpose involved granting 60-year loans to local Public Housing Authorities (PHA) for up to 90 percent of the cost of slum clearance or housing projects.[35] The Austin City Council formed the Austin Housing Authority in December 1937. The Austin Housing Authority soon thereafter made its initial application to the USHA for $500,000 (later increased to $714,000) for the construction of 186 units of public housing.[36] The requested funds would finance the development of three housing projects: Santa Rita Courts (40 units) for Mexican American families, Rosewood Courts (60 units) for African American families, and Chalmers Courts (86 units) for white families. (All three of these housing developments are extant; see below for a further discussion of these housing projects). The Housing Act of 1937 included principles of racial segregation in the legislative language and the Austin Housing Authority chose three sites in East Austin for the housing projects, in compliance with the provisions of Koch and Fowler's 1928 master plan to segregate city schools, parks, libraries, and other services based on race. Selecting East Austin as the location for the three housing developments further cemented inequality and divisions of race in the city.

The three housing projects in East Austin are significant because they represent the first public housing developments in the country completed under the 1937 Housing Act. They also possess significance for their

association with Lyndon Baines Johnson, who, as a U.S. Congressman at the time, had an instrumental role in fighting for social justice and the civil rights of minorities and advocating for fair housing options for the poor. When a group of Austin realtors and Chamber of Commerce members attempted to put a stop to the housing projects, fueled by their fear of government competition in the private housing market, and denied that slums existed in Austin, Congressman Johnson responded, "the government is competing with the shacks and hovels and hogsties and all the other foul holes in which the underprivileged have to live."[37] Congressman Johnson defended his position by citing an Austin Housing Authority study that revealed 1,030 out of 1,697 houses in East Austin qualified as substandard in that they were either in disrepair, unfit for use, or lacked running water or sanitation.[38] Johnson's involvement as a major player in the 1937 U.S. Housing Act demonstrates his commitment to the fair treatment of African Americans and Mexican Americans and represents political ideals that presage the important role he would have later in his political career in the passage of civil rights legislation as a Senator, Vice President, and President of the United States.

These housing developments in Austin were executed according to the requirements of the standard guidelines issued by the PHAs. In an effort to promote public housing projects as a progressive solution to slum clearance, modern architectural design and high-quality materials and detailing following the principles of the German Bauhaus architecture movement were employed. The layout of the housing projects relied on the *Zeilenbau* configuration, with housing slabs of one or more stories arranged in parallel rows in front of rectangular gardens with their long façades facing north and south for optimum lighting. This concept echoed government projects executed successfully in England, Germany, Austria, and elsewhere in Europe. USHA selected modern, efficient, and economical designs for the early projects as a means to garner support for the program.[39]

2.6.2.1. Santa Rita Courts

Construction of Santa Rita Courts took place between November 1938 and June 1939. Six acres of land, bound by Pedernales Street to the east, East 2nd Street to the south, Santa Rita Street to the north, and Corta Street to the west, was purchased for approximately 3.5 cents per square foot.[40] The architecture firm Giesecke and Harris, under the supervision of architect Hugo Franz Kuehne, designed the planned neighborhood development, consisting of 40 units (142 rooms) of public housing. Brick, reinforced concrete, tile, and masonry construction compose the 11 one-story buildings and storage facility. The approximately 100 by 25-foot residential blocks surround large courtyards, key elements in the housing development's design. The courtyards served as social spaces used for children's play, drying laundry, and interacting with fellow residents. Each housing unit had a basic living room-kitchen-bathroom configuration, and the interior included a gas range, open shelving, a gas hot water heater, and living room gas heaters.[41] The first to occupy the Santa Rita Courts was a Mexican American family of seven who went from living in a one-room shack without indoor plumbing or electricity to a five-room unit with modern amenities. They rented the unit at Santa Rita for $15

per month plus utilities, the same cost of the one-room hovel they previously occupied.[42] The Austin Housing Authority authorized the construction of a 60-unit annex to Santa Rita Courts to the west after the passage of the 1949 Housing Act. The annex was completed in 1954. (See *figure I-46* to follow.)

Figure I-46. Photograph of women and children sitting in a courtyard at Santa Rita Courts housing units, 1941. Santa Rita Courts was constructed in 1938–39 for Mexican American families in East Austin, and constitute the first public housing projects completed under the 1937 United States Housing Act. The image reveals the modernist style and materials used in the Bauhaus-influenced housing development. Each housing unit fronts a courtyard which provides open public space for social gatherings and recreation. The Santa Rita Courts is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and meets criteria for listing as a local landmark. Photo source: Neal Douglass, *Mexican Housing Units - Santa Rita Courts*, July 10, 1941, photograph, accessed June 29, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth34376/, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*.

2.6.2.2. Rosewood Courts

Rosewood Courts, the nation's oldest public housing developments constructed specifically for African American families, occupies the site of Emancipation Park, one of the original Juneteenth parade grounds in America. Not long after the establishment of USHA and the award of one of the initial slum clearance grants to Austin, the City of Austin seized Emancipation Park by eminent domain, evicting the people living there and demolishing their homes.[43] Despite outcries from the local community, the city took custody of the property to construct Rosewood Courts. Emancipation Park, which represented community organization during the Jim Crow era as a site of celebration and commemoration of the emancipation of African American slaves, was cleared for the USHA housing project and moved to a site just west of the railroad tracks on East 12th Street.

Constructed between November 1938 and September 1939, the site selected for Rosewood Courts encompasses seven acres between Chicon Street to the

west, Rosewood Avenue to the north, Poquito Street to the east, and Yale and Chicon Streets to the south. The original 25 one- and two-story buildings and two storage facilities sit on a hill with a significant slope from south to north toward Rosewood Avenue (see *figure I-47*). East–west oriented streets ending in cul-de-sacs circulate throughout Rosewood Courts. The Austin-based architectural firm of Page and Southerland designed Rosewood Courts, under the supervision of H. F. Kuehne. Due to the site's considerable slope and its previous use as parade grounds, a landscape architect also contributed to the design team. C. C. Pinkney furnished a plan for the site that retained as much of the natural character and indigenous vegetation as possible. Following the *Zeilenbau* configuration, parallel rows of approximately 84 by 24-foot or 124 by 24-foot buildings framed long, rectangular courtyards with their long sides facing north and south to receive morning or afternoon light. The units had all the same interior features as those composing Santa Rita Courts.

Figure I-47. Photograph of Rosewood Courts, 1954. Rosewood Courts, the first public housing complex built for African Americans under the 1937 United States Housing Act, was completed in 1939, and a second phase of construction took place 1940–1941. The housing development occupies the former site of Emancipation Park, one of the original Juneteenth parade grounds in America. The photograph conveys the site's steep slope as well as the employment of modern buildings materials and stylistic influences. Despite the replacement of the original flat roofs with gabled roofs, Rosewood Courts retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance as a representation of public housing for African American families resulting from the passage of the 1937 Housing Act. Photo source: "Wither Rosewood Courts?" by Lizzie Jesperssen, *The Austin Chronicle*, January 31, 2014, accessed June 29, 2016, http://www.austinchronicle.com/news/2014-01-31/whither-rosewood-courts/.

The first phase of construction entailed completion of the initial 60 single-story units located on the slope's high portion at the site's southern end. When the Austin Housing Authority received an additional funding allocation, 70 units composing two-story buildings were erected at the lower northern side of the complex. This second phase took place between February 1940 and January 1941.

Like other early American public housing, Rosewood Courts used modern building materials such as concrete and brick and featured International architectural style detailing. The site planning and landscape design that went into Rosewood Courts contributes to the site's significance. Pinkney sought to incorporate as much open space and opportunities for recreation as possible. The inclusion of clothesline poles is unique to Rosewood Courts; they were included to accommodate the many African American women residing there who worked as housekeepers and laundresses for white clients in West Austin.[44] Upon opening, rent at Rosewood Courts averaged $6.97 per month plus utilities.[45]

2.6.2.3. Chalmers Courts

Bound by East 5th Street to the north, Comal Street to the east, 3rd Street to the south, and Chicon Street to the west, Chalmers Courts represents the first public housing built exclusively for whites under the 1937 United States Housing Act. Under the supervision of Kuehne, architects E. C. Krisle and R. Max Brooks designed the complex. The total amount to build Chalmers Courts, including the purchase of the land, cost $350,000. The first phase involved the construction of 87 units, and the second phase entailed building an additional 77 units. In keeping with the *Zeilenbau* model, parallel rows of long buildings front rectangular courtyards.

2.6.3. SUBDIVISIONS AND LAND DEVELOPMENT

Despite the generally depressed economic conditions of the 1930s and early 1940s, East Austin continued to grow during the Depression/Pre-War period. The map entitled *Territorial Growth of the City of Austin 1840-1970* (*figure I-48*) illustrates that the majority of the growth in the East Austin survey area during the Depression Era took place east of Chestnut Street. Yet rather than large-scale rapid development of neighborhoods typical in planned suburbs, infill occurred in a slow, sporadic, and haphazard fashion. The inconsistent availability of municipal utilities such as sewer lines, electricity, and paved streets, along with the practice of redlining, served to discourage real estate investment in the East Austin area.

Maps published in 1935 by the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company reveal increased development in most East Austin neighborhoods. The presence of Samuel Huston College, as well as other community establishments such as the African American Presbyterian Church on East 12th Street and the public high school on Olive Street, contributed to increased development in this area. Also evident on the 1935 Sanborn maps, East 11th and East 12th Streets remained the primary commercial areas for the portion of East Austin dominated by African American residents.

For the section of East Austin inhabited by mostly Mexican Americans, the 1935 Sanborn maps indicate that most lots north of Holly and River Streets had been improved but the property to the south remained mostly undeveloped.

Changes in transportation and road improvements also affected development in East Austin. A State Highway Department map produced in 1936 (revised in 1940, see *figure I-49*, on the following page) details the city's road network. The map illustrates that East Avenue, East 1st Street, East 19th Street (see *figure I-50*, to follow), Manor Road, and part of East 7th Street (from East Avenue to Comal Street), constituted the only paved roads in the East Austin project area. The Austin Rapid Transit Railway Company streetcar line which had extended to the corner of East 12th and Chicon Streets was replaced by buses in 1940, which likely encouraged development to the east. Another road improvement was the transformation of East Avenue (*figure I-51*, to follow) to a widened thoroughfare with grass-covered medians for use as recreational space. This development complied with Koch and Fowler's 1928 plan, which

stated that East Avenue was, "destined to be the backbone for all traffic in the eastern portion of the City." The Sanborn map indicates the incorporation of medians had occurred by 1935.

2.6.4. COMMUNITY LIFE

2.6.4.1. Businesses

With the divisions that existed between the East Austin community and the rest of the city as well as the shortage of jobs during the Depression Era, many residents in the area resorted to opening their own businesses during the 1930s and 1940s. This trend reflects the self-reliance, industriousness, and ambition that members of the East Austin community developed and drew upon amidst the segregated environment. Within two decades after the adoption of Koch and Fowler's 1928 plan, over 100 businesses operated throughout East Austin, many of which lined East 1st (Cesar Chavez), East 6th, East 11th, and East 12th Streets, and Manor Road (*figure I-52*, to follow). They included restaurants, bakeries, a beauty school, grocery stores, and offices for professionals such as doctors and attorneys.[46]

Beginning in the 1930s, the locations of businesses were determined not only by the locations of streetcar lines and paved roads, but also by the locations of bus routes as seen in *figure I-39.* As shown in this 1933 map, the bus routes supplemented the earlier streetcar lines along East 1st (Cesar Chavez) and East 7th Street bus line (*figure I-53*). (For additional information regarding the bus system citywide, refer to *Section 1.3.7.1* of the *Citywide Historic Context*.)

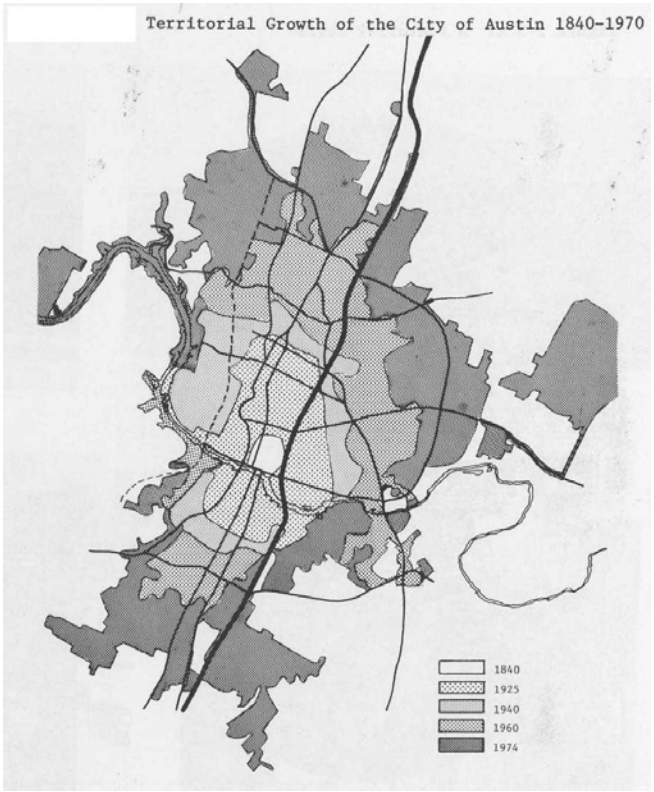


Figure I-48. *Territorial Growth of the City of Austin 1840-1970*. This map, produced by the City of Austin, shows that most of the growth that occurred in East Austin during the Depression Era took place east of Chestnut Street. Map courtesy of Austin History Center, Austin Public Library.

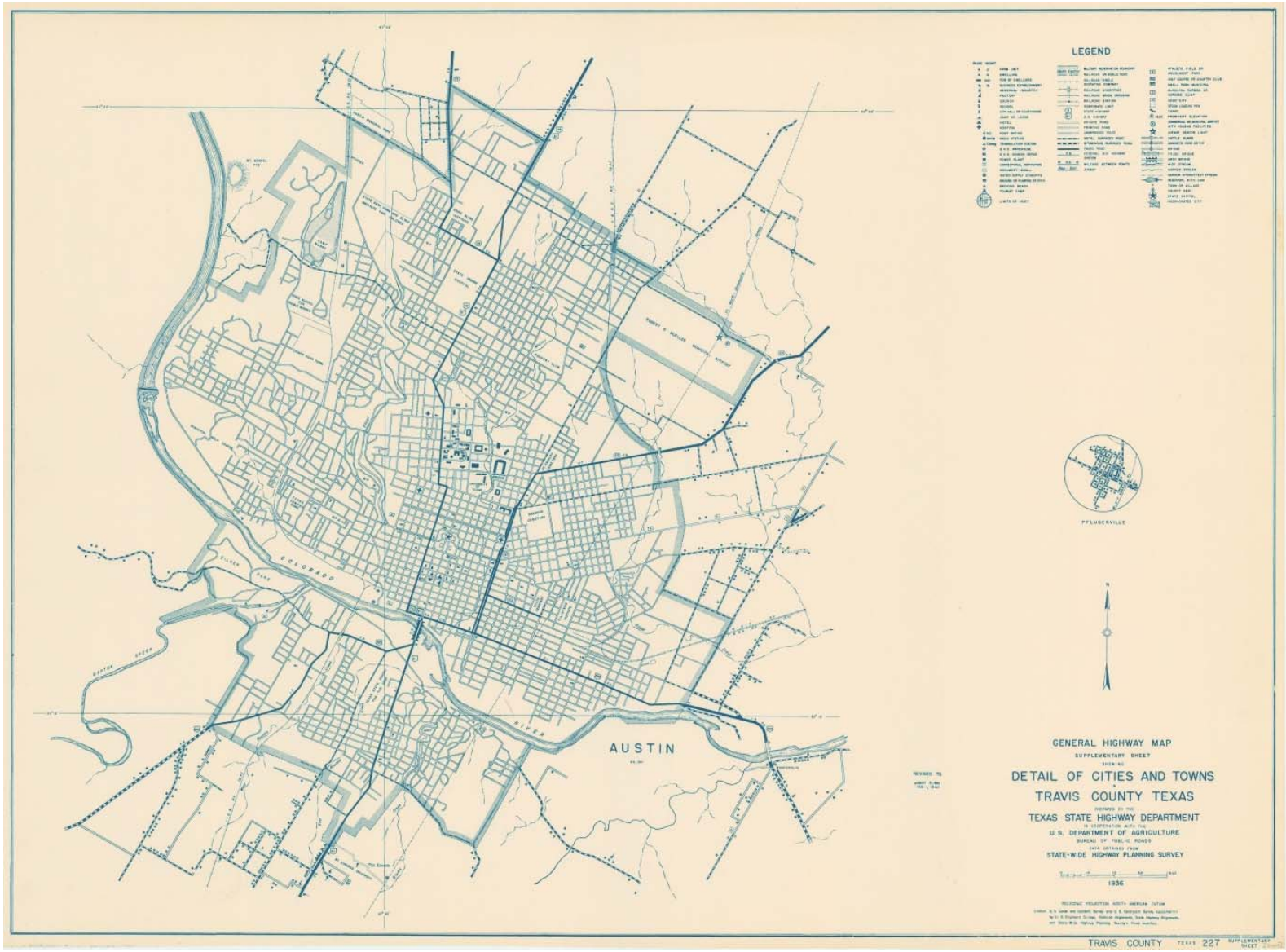


Figure I-49. Detail of Cities and Towns, Travis County, Texas, Texas State Highway Department Map, produced in 1936 and revised 1940. This map of Austin illustrates the road network in the city at the time. It is apparent that East Avenue, East 1st Street, East 19th Street, Manor Road, and part of East 7th Street (from East Avenue to Comal Street), constituted the only paved roads by 1940 in the East Austin project area. Map source: Texas State Library and Archives, from the University of Texas Libraries, Perry Castañeda Map Collection, accessed June 27, 2016, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/arc/maps/images/map5009.jpg.

Figure I-50. Side-by-side comparison of photographs taken of East 19th Street looking east, before paving (left) and after paving (right). Source (photo on left): Jordan-Ellison, *Unpaved Nineteenth Street*, July 19, 1930, photograph, accessed June 30, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth125183/, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*. Photo on right: Jordan-Ellison. *Nineteenth Street looking east*, October 31, 1930, photograph, accessed June 30, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth125182/, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History.*

Figure I-51. Side-by-side comparison of photographs taken of East Avenue looking south from 8th Street, during paving (left) and after paving (right). Source (photo on left): Jordan-Ellison, *East Avenue looking south at 8th St. during paving project*, September 3, 1930, photograph, accessed June 30, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth125221/, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*. Photo on right: Jordan-Ellison, *East Avenue looking south at 8th St. after paving project*, November 1, 1930, photograph, accessed June 30, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth125222/, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History.*

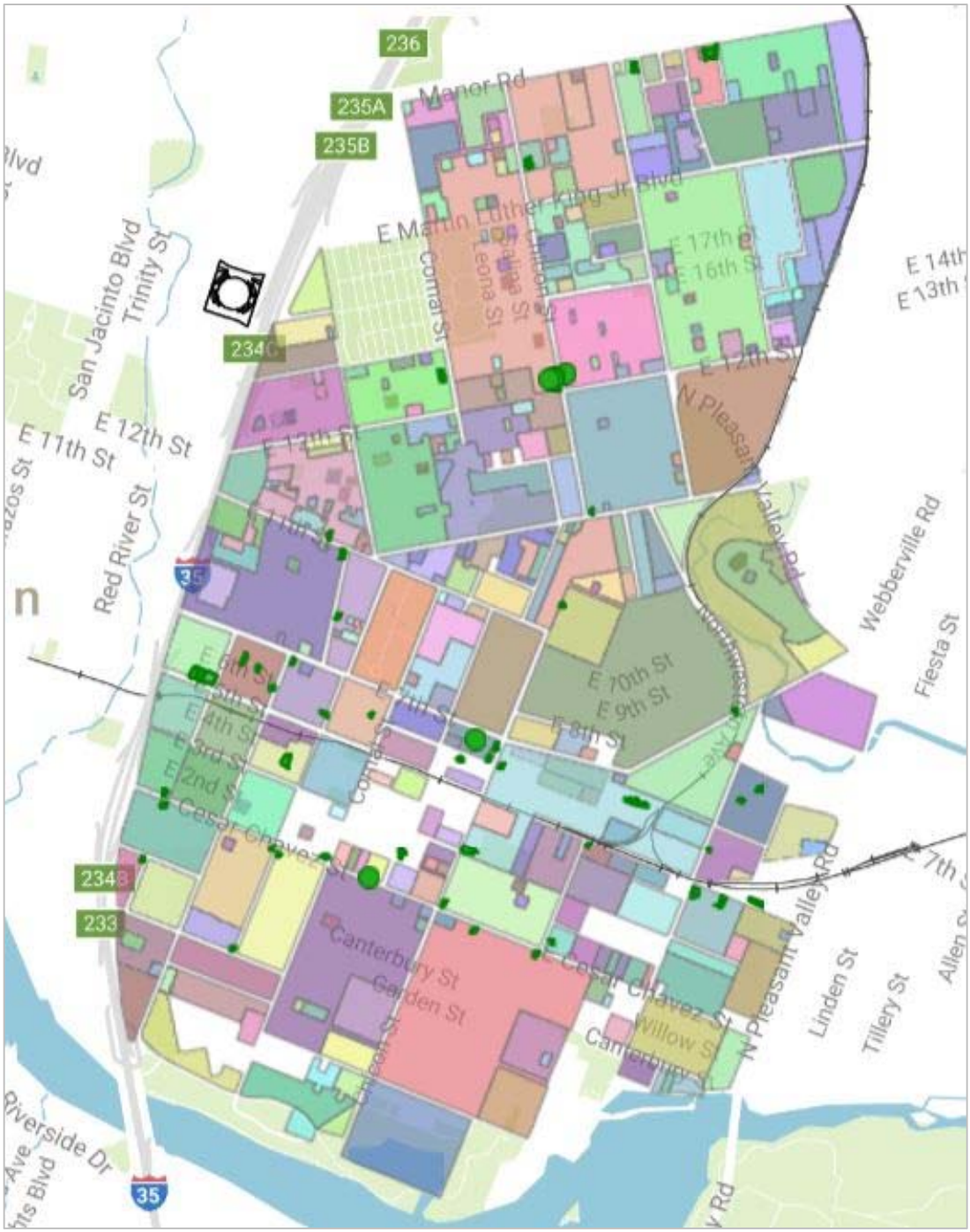


Figure I-52. Map depicting the spatial distribution of extant commercial and industrial resources in East Austin constructed from 1929 to 1945, shown in green. The multicolored patchwork represents subdivisions. Source: Map by HHM, using Google base map, 2016.

6th Streets by extending further east along East 6th Street, and by incorporating East 7th Street, East 19th Street (MLK, Jr. Boulevard), and Manor Road. By 1940, the streetcar lines fell out of service, and bus lines provided the only form of public transportation in East Austin. The routes primarily functioned to transport the residents of East Austin to jobs downtown and in West Austin, but the additional traffic that they generated also encouraged the development of new businesses like the Green and White Grocery, which opened around 1940 at 1201 East 7th Street – right at the terminus of the new

Figure I-53. Photograph of the Green and White Grocery at 1201 East 7th Street, established ca. 1940 by Noberto Lopez and his wife Susie, who both lived and worked in the building.[1] The grocery is sited along the bus route on East 7th Street, which started service around 1933. The building meets the criteria for local landmark and individual NRHP listing for its association with the significant trends of business development in East Austin along bus routes in the 1940s, as well as the role of small Mexican American groceries in the commercial and cultural development of East Austin. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

On East 6th Street, the Italian immigrant presence begun in the early 1900s persisted. The Franzetti family also took over the former Cherico grocery at 1401 E. 6th Street from about 1929 through at least 1935 (still extant, see *figure I-27* in *Section 2.4.2.3*), as well as the Franzetti Food Store at 1200 East 12th Street by 1940 (no longer extant). The family members continued to live near their businesses in East Austin, and by 1929, occupied residences at 2001 Chicon Street by, 904 Lydia, and the former Cherico residence at 1403 East 6th Street (all still standing).[47] After the adoption of the 1928 plan, the Cherico family abandoned East Austin around 1930, and moved to Travis Heights in South Austin, but the Franzetti family remained committed to living and working in East Austin until the 1940s.[48] By 1940, John J. Franzetti moved his family from 1403 East 6th Street to 309 Park Lane in Fairview Park, and Joseph P. Franzetti moved to 200 East Live Oak Street near Travis Heights.[49]

In an illustration of the changing demographics of the area, by 1944, ownership of the grocery and house at 1401 and 1403 East 6th Street transferred to Ysabel Arriaga and his wife Louisa.[50] The Arriagas moved to Austin in 1942,[51] possibly immigrating from Mexico, considering that neither Ysabel nor Louisa were enumerated in the 1940 U.S. Census. This and other groceries operated by Mexican Americans in this era became an important part of East Austin's identity, helping to build a culture of entrepreneurship, as well as to keep cultural food traditions intact. In its *American Latino Theme Study*, the National Park Service recognizes both commerce and food as significant themes within the history of Latinos in the United States.[52] Furthermore, by 1946, Arriaga Grocery paid for an advertisement in the *LULAC News*[53]—published by the League of United Latin American Citizens—foreshadowing the significant role that East Austin's Mexican American

business owners would play in the Civil Rights Movement in the decades to come (further discussed in *Section 2.7*).

With the increasingly African American demographic resulting from the 1928 plan, businesses increasingly catered to an African American clientele. The many businesses in East Austin during the Depression Era provided not only services that community members could not attain elsewhere in the city, but also a sense of unity and pride. Given the density of buildings in East Austin, commercial establishments abounded, and most were in close proximity to residents, whose primary mode of getting around town was by walking. The most sizeable African American commercial node was along East 11th Street, which was one of the few roads to be paved by the 1920s (as shown previously in *figure I-19* in *Section 2.4.1.2.3*). In 1936, African American-owned and -run businesses in Austin included five tire shops, nine tailors, a creamery, two furniture repair shops, two boarding houses, two meat markets, a beauty college, six service stations, a lumberyard, two blacksmiths, 16 cafes, 17 grocery stores, a fish market, a theater, three drug stores, a print shop, three funeral homes, three shoe shops, seven garages, eight wood yards, three vegetable stands, 10 beauty shops, a loan agency, and a hotel.[54] Another African American-owned business in East Austin was Hillside Drugs, originally located at 607 San Jacinto Street. Dr. Ulysses Young, who earned his bachelor's degree at Paul Quinn College in Waco and pharmaceutical degree at Meharry Medical College in Nashville, prepared prescriptions specifically for the African American community's needs. The business later moved to East 11th Street (see *figure I-54*).

Figure I-54. 2016 Photograph of building located at 1209 East 11th Street. The building, which now houses a restaurant, is the former location of Hillside Drugs, a pharmacy owned and operated by Dr. Ulysses Young. The original location of the pharmacy was at 607 San Jacinto Street. Dr. Young moved the location of his business to the East 11th building after it was completed in 1950. Photo by HHM.

Because the city did not enforce zoning ordinances in East Austin, many business owners were creative and opportunistic in their ventures.[55] Numerous residents operated businesses such as beauty parlors out of their homes, which had separate back entrances for the business. For example, in the 1940s, Simpson Beauty Salon, and later OK Beauty Shop (still extant),

operated out of the bungalow at 2121 East 1st Street. Mabelle Harper, at 1199 Coleto Street, also operated a beauty salon and shop, called Mabelle's Studio and Gift Shop, out of her house in the late 1940s (also extant, see *figure I-55*). Other business owners ran beauty parlors outside of their homes. For example, Jewel Warren, a graduate of Tillotson College and Crescent Institute, had a full-service beauty salon, Parisienne Beauty Shop, located at 1014 East 11th Street. The salon catered to the local African American community. Crescent Institute, located at 1205 East 11th Street, was founded in 1931 by Urissa Christian. The Institute provided technological training to young people wishing to join the workforce. The school also had beauty, business administration, and mechanics departments, offering evening classes and job placement services.[56]

Figure I-55. House at 1199 Coleto Street that once served as a Mabelle's Studio and Gift shop in the 1940s, run by African American and East Austin resident Mabelle Harper.

Among the many African American-owned businesses that fronted East 11th Street was Arnold's Bakery, which later became Rueter's Bakery. Situated catty corner from the Haehnel Store building (a historic commercial building constructed about 1880), two generations of the Rueter family worked at the bakery and lived behind the building.[57] Next door to the bakery sat Franklin's Barber Shop, opened in 1932.

Starting in the 1930s, William Handy Fuller and his wife Maud A. B. Fuller took over Rhambo Funeral Parlor, founded by African American Nathan W. Rhambo, and renamed it Fuller Funeral Home. The Fullers moved their business into a large frame house on Angelina Street which featured a number of bedrooms, separate repose rooms, a chapel, and an inviting landscaped yard (see *figure I-56*, to follow). Considered pillars of the community, Mr. and Mrs. Fuller each organized various charitable organizations, were active in Baptist missionary endeavors, and enjoyed providing employment opportunities to members of their community. After Mr. Fuller's death in 1941, Mrs. Fuller partnered with C. E. M. Mercer and renamed the business Fuller-Mercer Funeral Home. They moved their business to East 19th Street in 1984.[58]

Figure I-56. Photograph of Fuller Funeral Home building (no longer extant), located at 1164 Angelina Street, date unknown. William Handy Fuller and his wife Maud A. B. Fuller opened Fuller Funeral Home in this large bungalow when they took over Rhambo Funeral Parlor in the 1930s. The funeral home, which later became Fuller-Mercer Funeral Home, moved to another location on East 19th Street in 1983. Photo courtesy of Austin History Center, Austin Public Library.

2.6.4.2. Social and Entertainment Venues

Social and entertainment venues in East Austin during the Depression Era played a comparable role to that of parks and businesses within the segregated district. Those places where the local community gathered for social and cultural events provided a respite within neighborhoods devoid of basic utility services. In addition, social and entertainment venues that emerged in East Austin during the 1930s and 1940s provided public spaces where minority groups socialized together and were not relegated to separate sections, as they would have been elsewhere in Austin. The ability to convene freely and share ideas, beliefs, and mutual support helped forge a strong sense of community among East Austin residents.

Concentration of African Americans in East Austin after the implementation of Koch and Fowler's plan influenced the founding of the Howson Community Center in 1929. Leaders of the Community Welfare Association believed the local community would benefit from having a meeting space for clubs and organizations engaged in social, educational, and community wellness activities. The Howson Community Center housed a nursery school, the National Administration Community Chest, local government clubs, parenting classes, Negro Citizens Council, Girl Scouts, Federation of Women's Clubs, and various other organizations and courses.

In 1928, a group of members of the First Baptist Church organized a new Christian Fellowship and named it the Olivet Baptist Church. The Olivet Baptist Church formed soon after the city adopted Koch and Fowler's plan and reflects how determined members of the African American community came together and optimized those resources available to them in order to create important community establishments, despite the inequalities they faced. Reverend Joseph H. Harrington served as the first pastor and held the first Sunday services at the Mosby-Lott Building, located at 607 San Jacinto Street. A week after the initial service, the church purchased and moved into a house at the corner of San Bernard and Cotton Streets. The Olivet Baptist Church

parishioners attended services in this building, which lacked interior walls and electricity until a new building was constructed on the site in 1953.

Another church in East Austin that served as a place for worship, community projects, mission work, and educational opportunities for Black congregants is Wesley United Methodist Church. Established as a freedmen church at the end of the Civil War, the church edifice once stood at the corner of 9th and Neches Streets. The church moved to 1164 San Bernard Street in 1929. Numerous small churches emerged during the Depression and World War II eras in East Austin. The Reverend Francis R. Weber founded Holy Cross Catholic Church in 1936. Prior to the opening of the church, practicing African American Catholics joined for mass at the home of William M. Tears, at 1203 East 12th Street. The 1935 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map shows the following small churches throughout East Austin: Church of the Nazarene on San Marcos Street, Ward Memorial Methodist Church on Waller Street, Primitive Baptist Church on East 1st Street, Peaceful Rest Baptist Church on Ulit Avenue, Grant Chapel A.M.E. Church on New York Avenue, Presbyterian Mission Sunday School on East 17th Street, and the Mexican Baptist Church and Little Bethel Baptist Church on East 3rd Street, among others.

Non-religious establishments such as entertainment venues also served as important institutions to the East Austin community during the Depression Era. Instead of enduring the racial discrimination prevalent in restaurants, theatres, and clubs elsewhere in the city, residents of East Austin enjoyed cultural experiences within the confines of their district. The Harlem Theatre (see *figure I-57, to follow*) is a notable example that served the African American community. Opened by George H. Jones in 1935 on East 12th Street, the Harlem Theatre became a popular movie house. The Luccahese family later took over the business, which burned down in 1973.

Figure I-57. View of the entry of the Harlem Theater, "Austin's first exclusive Negro Theatre" which opened in at 1800 East 12th Street in 1939. The theater was in operation until it burned in 1973. Photograph ca. 1951. Source: *A Pictorial and Historical Souvenir of Negro Life in Austin, Texas* by John Mason Brewer.

[1] Although not a precise method of measuring demographics, a search of U.S. Census records of Austin for individuals with "Mexico" as the place of birth yielded 1,692 individuals in 1930 and 1,664 in 1940 (a decrease of 2 percent).

[2] Jason McDonald, *Racial Dynamics in Early Twentieth-Century Austin, Texas* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2012), 22.

[3] Jennifer Rita Ross, *The Aesthetics of Gentrification in the Clarksville National Register of Historic Places Historic District, Austin, Texas, 1871-2003* (master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 2003), 71.

[4] Richard Moya, interview by José Angel Gutiérrez, *Tejano Voices*, The University of Texas at Arlington Center for Mexican American Studies Oral History project; 30 January 2003, transcript, p. 8. Available from http://library.uta.edu/tejanovoices/xml/CMAS_159.xml.

[5] Gregory Simon, et. al., eds. "The Privilege of Staying Dry." In *Cities, Nature and Development: The Politics and Production of Urban Vulnerabilities* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), 200-201.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Richard L. Schott, Ethnic and Race Relations in Austin, Texas, Policy Research Project Report 137 (Austin: Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, 2001), 7.

[8] David C. Humphrey, "Austin, TX (Travis County)," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 22, 2016, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hda03.

[9] Bo McCarver, *The Blackland Miracle*, (Ph.D. dissertation The University of Texas at Austin, 1995), 14.

[10] Hardy, Heck, Moore, Inc., *Interstate Highway 35 Corridor, Austin, Texas, Historic Resources Investigations Intensive-Level Survey* (Austin: Texas Department of Transportation Environmental Affairs Division Historical Studies Branch, 2004), 44.

[11] Martha Doty Freeman and Kenneth Breisch," Historic Resources of East Austin," *National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Historic Sites Inventory*, Sec. 8, 2, 1979/1985.

[12] Steven Joseph Kraus, *Water, Sewers and Streets: The Acquisition of Public Utilities in Austin, Texas, 1875-1930* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1973), 150.

[13] Robena Jackson, *East Austin: A Socio-Historical View of A Segregated Community* (master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1979), 98-99.

[14] "Joseph Straubhaar, et. al., eds., Structuring Race in the Cultural Geography of Austin," in *Inequity in the Technopolis: Race, Class, Gender, and the Digital Divide in Austin* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2012), 50.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 49.

[17] Jane H. Rivera, *Austin's Rosewood Neighborhood* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 20.

[18] Texas Historical Commission, *Zavala Elementary School*, Historical Marker — Atlas Number 5507017292, accessed June 23, 2016, http://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5507017292.

[19] Straubhaar, 50-51.

[20] Texas Historical Commission, Zavala Elementary School, Historical Marker — Atlas Number 5507017292, accessed June 23, 2016, http://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5507017292.

[21] East Austin was home to Emancipation Park. Located at East 12th Street and Chicon at the site of Rosewood Courts, Emancipation Park was founded in 1909 by the local African American community. The park played host to Juneteenth celebrations and parades.

[22] Fred L. McGhee, "Rosewood Courts Historic District,'' *National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Historic Sites Inventory*, 2013, Section 8, 16.

[23] Kim McKnight, e-mail message to Marty Stump, August 30, 2011.

[24] Ethan A. Raath and Jennifer E. Ruch, *Parque Zaragoza, 1931 – Present* (San Marcos: Center for Texas Public History, Texas State University, 2014), 3. The name of the park was changed to Parque Zaragoza in 1988.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Austin Parks and Recreation Department, "A Living Legacy: Honoring Our Past, Celebrating Our Present and Creating Our Future – Austin Parks Recreation Department 1928-2003," 5.

[28] A. E. Hillier, "Redlining and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation," *Journal of Urban History* 29 no. 4 (2003): 707-708. It's important to note that Amy Hillier, along with other scholars, argues that redlining practices emerged before the formation of the HOLC, and were already in widespread use.

[29] For more information, please see Kenneth T. Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier* (Chapter 11, Federal Subsidy and the Suburban Dream: How Washington Changed the American Housing Market), which discusses the HOLC maps and the advent of "redlining." He notes the existence of the HOLC maps and maintains that the maps were important in the decision-making process for the approval of FHA-back loans. Amy Hillier presents a compelling counter argument in her article "Redlining and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation," which appears in *the Journal of Urban History*. She argues that the HOLC maps did not cause redlining based on her GIS-based analysis other spatial data tools. She maintains that the HOLC maps had little bearing on loan practices and generally reflected existing housing conditions.

[30] Eliot M. Treter, *Progressivism, Zoning, Private Racial Covenants, and the Making of a Segregated City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 19, accessed June 22, 2016, https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/21232.

[31] Robena Jackson, *East Austin: A Socio-Historical View of A Segregated Community* (master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1979), 2-6.

[32] United States Federal Housing Administration, *Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedure Under Title II of the National Housing Ac*t (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1941), 9.

[33] Eliot M. Treter, *Progressivism, Zoning, Private Racial Covenants, and the Making of a Segregated City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 57, accessed June 22, 2016, https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/21232.

[34] Austin Housing Authority: A Copy of the Supporting Data for the Application of the Housing Authority of the City of Austin to the United States Housing Authority (Austin, Texas, 1936).

[35] Fred L. McGhee, "Santa Rita Courts Historic District," Sec. 8, 7-8, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Historic Sites Inventory,* 2006.

[36] Ibid., 8, 8.

[37] Ibid., 8-11.

[38] Ibid., 8-12.

[39] Ibid., 8-7.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid., 8-12.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Fred L. McGhee, "Rosewood Courts Historic District,'' *National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Historic Sites Inventory* Sec. 8-17, 2013, Texas Historical Commission Library, Austin, Texas.

[44] Ibid., 8-24.

[45] Ibid., 8-14.

[46] Per City Directory research for extant commercial buildings from this era, as detailed in the Survey Forms in *Appendix B*.

[47] Austin History Center, city directories.

[48] Potential Landmark Files, "06 Street East – 1403," City of Austin Historic Preservation Office, Austin, Texas.

[49] Austin History Center, city directories.

[50] Ibid; "Obituaries: Felipa Arriaga Bazan," *Austin American-Statesman*, March 28-29, 2015, accessed August 15, 2016, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/statesman/obituary.aspx?pid=174504368.

[51] "Deaths and Services: Mrs. Louisa Arriaga," *Austin American-Statesman*, May 5, 1973, p. 26; from ProQuest, www.proquest.com.

[52] *American Latino Theme Study*, National Park Service, accessed August 15, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/latino/latinothemestudy/index.htm.

[53] "Arriaga Grocery," [advertisement], *LULAC News*, vol. 13 no. 5 (November 1945), back inside cover; from the *Portal to Texas History*, The University of North Texas Libraries, crediting the Houston Metropolitan Research Center at Houston Public Library, accessed August 15, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth249908/m1/23/.

[54] Hardy·Heck·Moore, *Historic Resources Survey of East Austin*, 2000, 87.

[55] Sharon Hill, "The Empty Stairs: The Lost History of East Austin," *Intersections: New Perspectives in Texas Public History* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 14.

[56] Ibid., 15.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Alan Arro Smith and David P. Gentry, "Fuller Funeral Home," accessed June 29, 2016, http://www.gentrysmith.org/Black%20mortuaries/Fuller.htm.

2.7. Postwar Suburbanization, 1946–1969

Infill development continued gradually in East Austin in the post-World War II era, as opposed to the rapid and large-scale suburbanization generally thought to characterize development in the United States during the period. For the most part, land within the East Austin Survey area was platted, and development had begun prior to World War II. (Refer to the *Territorial Growth of the City of Austin 1840–1970* map, previously included as *figure I-48*.) In predominantly white areas, the process of residential development in the United States typically required that developers file a plat with the local government that specified "their plans for improving the land with streets and utilities."[1] However, in East Austin, completion of a plat did not equate provision of city services, and many platted subdivisions were devoid of paved streets, water and sewer services, and electricity lines. The resulting inequities in municipal services resulted in slower, more sporadic development patterns that counter the narrative of planned suburban development typical in the United States in the post-World War II era. To assert their rights to equitable public services in exchange for their tax contributions, East Austin communities built strong non-governmental institutions, ranging from churches to political organizations to business enterprises. In East Austin and in similar communities across the United States, the grassroots activism of the post-World War II era resulted in policy changes at the federal, state, and local level that laid the groundwork for correcting inequalities in municipal services, encouraging private-sector redevelopment efforts in the decades to come.

2.7.1. POST-WORLD WAR II DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

2.7.1.1. Population Trends

During the postwar period, the overall population of Austin saw tremendous growth, but the Black and foreign-born populations grew more slowly (*Table I-7* and *figure I-58* on the following page). By 1946, Austin's minority populations had consolidated largely in East Austin, driven by the policies set forth in the 1928 Koch and Fowler plan.[2] The concentration of minority populations in East Austin continued into the 1950s and 1960s (*figures I-59* and *I-60, to follow*). A number of contextual factors contributed to the relatively slower growth of Austin's minority population. After World War II, Black populations declined across the American South, as African Americans moved to cities in the Northeast, Midwest, and West Coast to take advantage of the growing number of industrial job opportunities during the postwar boom.[3] In Austin, the northward migration was counterbalanced by African Americans moving into Austin from rural areas.[4] Although the overall U.S. foreign-born population increased in the era, rural areas received the bulk of immigrants, coming primarily from Mexico due to the *Bracero* program, which allowed legal migration of Mexican farmworkers from 1942 through 1964.[5] Unfortunately, the trajectory of the U.S.-born Mexican American population is difficult to track because the U.S. Census did not differentiate between those of Hispanic descent and non-Hispanic whites until the 1970s. Neighborhood residents generally perceive that the African American community was

Table I-7. Demographic Changes in Austin from 1940 through 1970.

Year	Total Population			White			Black			Foreign Born		
	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total	No.	% Increase	% of Total
1970	251,808	35.0	100	219,609	35.7	87.21	29,816	22.1	11.8	5,497	26.8	2.2
1960	186,545	40.8	100	161,806	41.1	86.74	24,413	38.2	13.1	4,336	16.7	2.3
1950	132,459	50.6	100	114,652	57.0	86.56	17,667	18.9	13.3	3,715	23.0	2.8
1940	87,930	N/A	100	73,025	N/A	83.05	14,861	N/A	16.9	3,020	N/A	3.4

Note that this data is for the City of Austin as a whole. Also note that the U.S. Census did not differentiate between Hispanic and non-Hispanic whites until the 1970s. Source: U.S. Census, Selected Historical Decennial Census Population and Housing Counts, accessed June 16, 2016, https://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html.

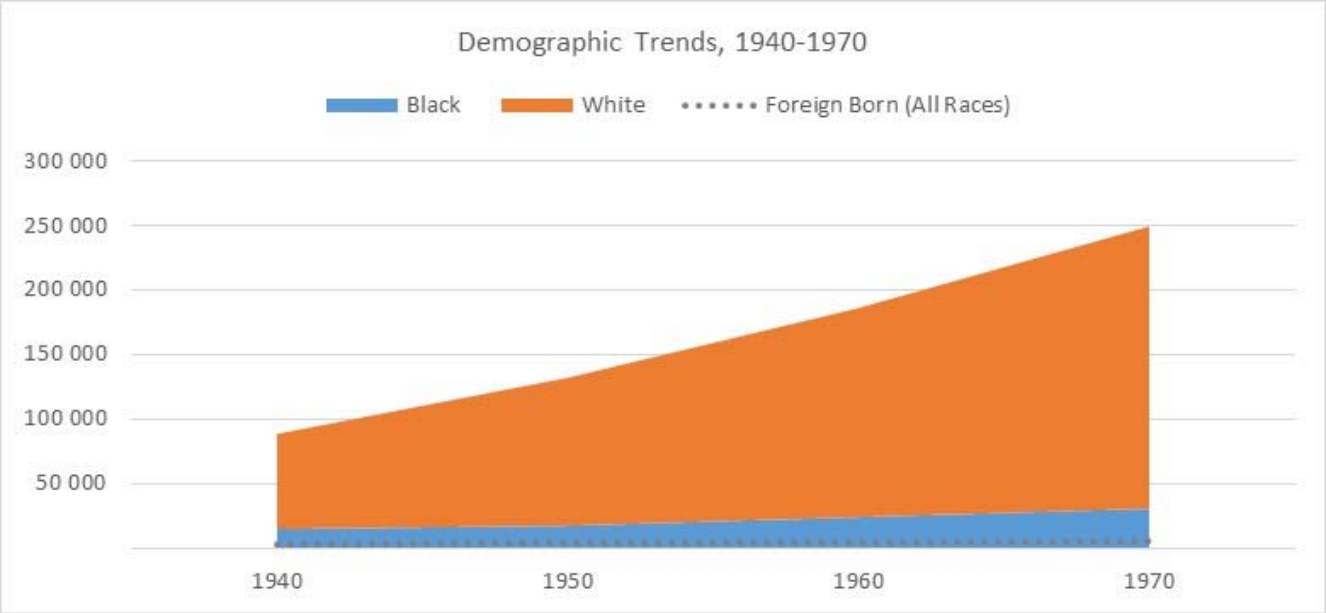


Figure I-58. Graph depicting demographic changes in Austin from 1940 through 1970. Note that this data is for the City of Austin as a whole. Source: U.S. Census, Selected Historical Decennial Census Population and Housing Counts; Table 32, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States" and Table 5, "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-born Population of the United States," https://www.census.gov/population/www/census data/hiscendata.html, accessed June 16, 2016. Refer to *figure I-6* previously seen in *Section 2.3.1* for additional background regarding the lack of differentiation of non-Hispanic whites, as well as the definition of the "Black" demographic.

centered between East 7th Street and East 19th Street (Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard) through the 1940s, then began to move northward toward Manor Road in the 1950s and 1960.[6] At the same time, Mexican Americans—previously concentrated south of East 7th Street, near the lowlands fronting the Colorado River and the industrial areas near the railroads along East 3rd and East 4th Streets—began to intersperse with Black residents north of East 7th Street (*figure I-61, to follow*).

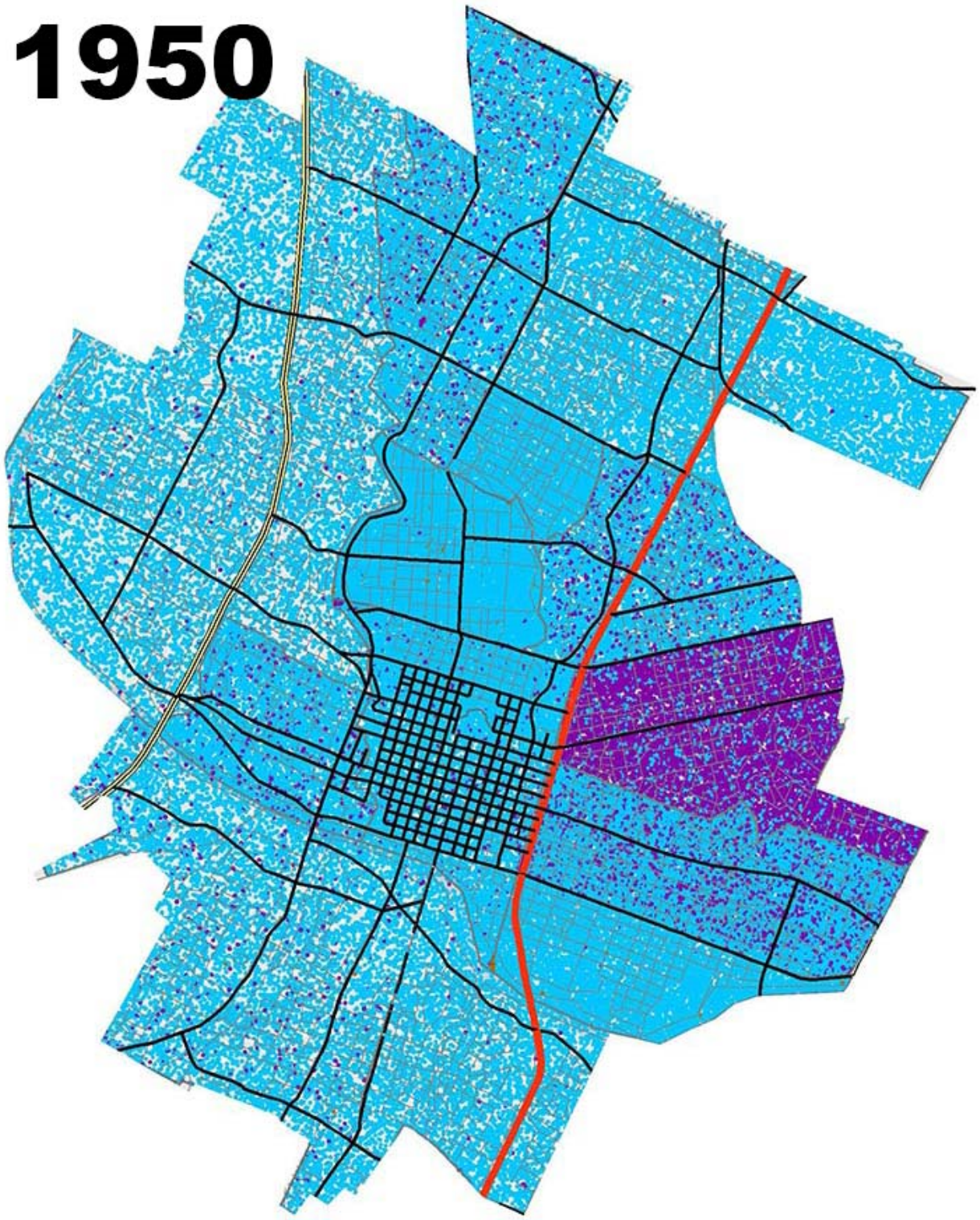


Figure I-59. Map showing population distribution in 1950, with blue representing the white population and purple representing "Black." Note that Hispanic populations are not differentiated. The red line represents East Avenue/IH 35. Source: Dan Zehr, "Inheriting inequality," *Austin American-Statesman*, accessed June 22, 2016, http://projects.statesman.com/news/economic-mobility/; citing "Austin Restricted" (Tretter, 2012) from U.S. Census data.

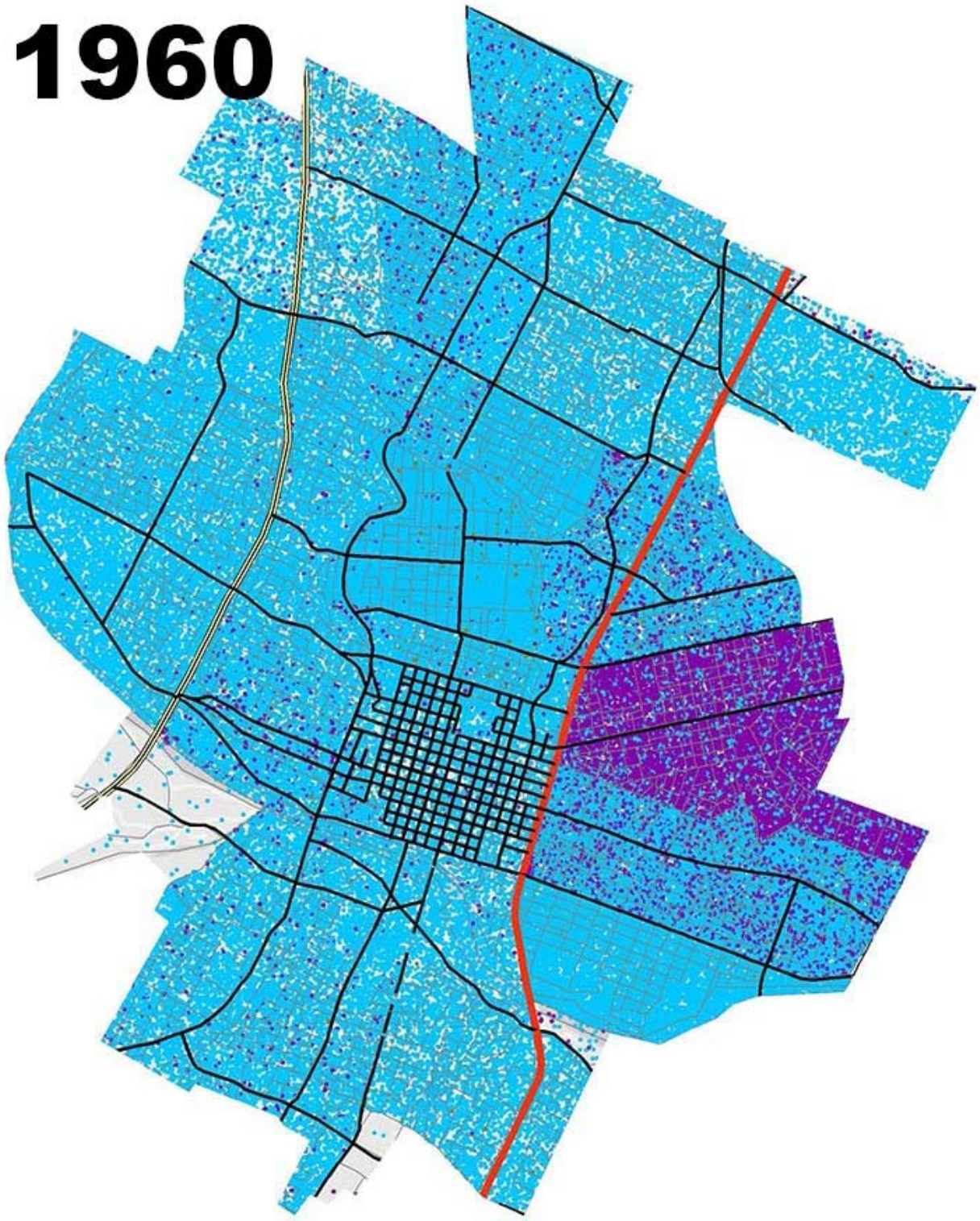
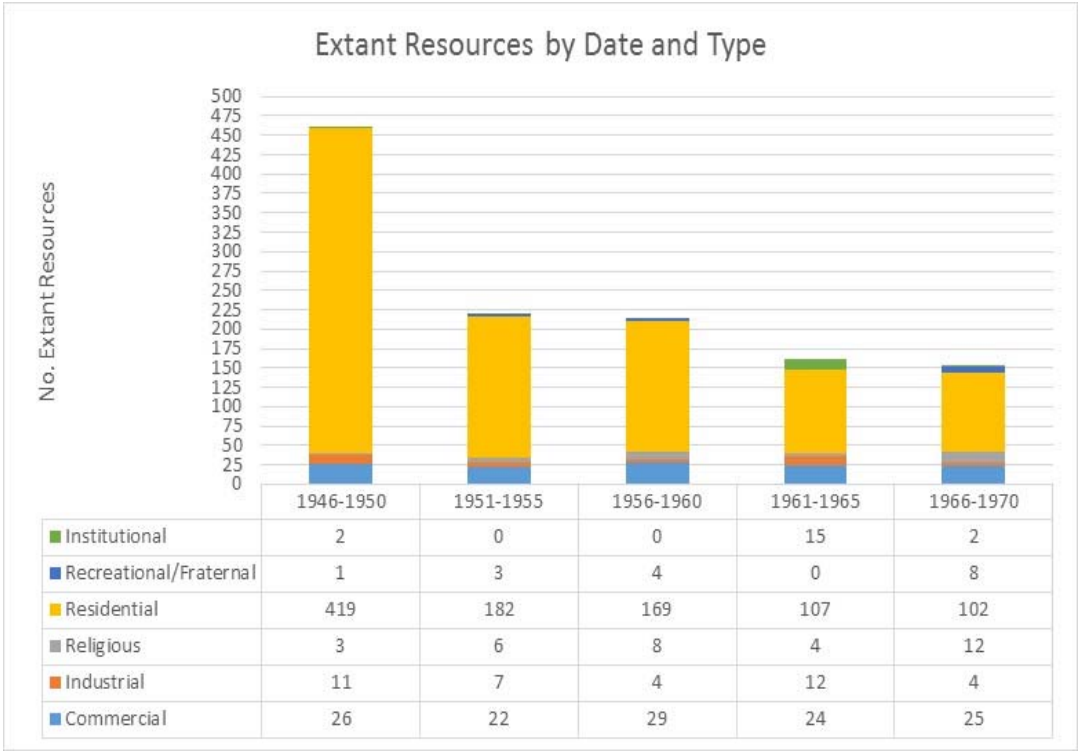


Figure I-60. Map showing population distribution in 1960, with blue representing the white population and purple representing "Black." Note that Hispanic populations are not differentiated. The red line represents East Avenue/IH 35. Source: Dan Zehr, "Inheriting inequality," *Austin American-Statesman*, accessed June 22, 2016, http://projects.statesman.com/news/economic-mobility/; citing "Austin Restricted" (Tretter, 2012) from U.S. Census data.

Figure I-61. Photograph of the Briones House at 1204 East 7th Street, constructed from 1947 to 1953 as part of the movement of the Mexican American community north of East 7th Street. The Briones House is a City of Austin local landmark and is individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The house is considered a masterful example of the decorative masonry and ironwork of East Austin's Mexican American craftsmen.[7] Photo by HHM, 2016.

2.7.1.2. Development Patterns

Within East Austin, residential construction boomed immediately after World War II with the shortage of housing as veterans returned and rural populations moved toward cities.[8] (See *Table I-8*). As this graph shows, during the 1950s and 60s, the pace of residential construction declined. Commercial construction remained somewhat steady, though, and institutional construction spiked in the early 1960s, in connection with the expansion of Huston Tillotson College and the construction of Martin Junior High School.



	1946-1950	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970
Institutional	2	0	0	15	2
Recreational/Fraternal	1	3	4	0	8
Residential	419	182	169	107	102
Religious	3	6	8	4	12
Industrial	11	7	4	12	4
Commercial	26	22	29	24	25

Table I-8. Graph depicting trends in the construction dates of extant resources within the East Austin Historic Resources Survey boundaries. As the graph indicates, construction pace was quickest during the years immediately following World War II. During each time period, residential construction accounted for the vast majority of construction. Note that this data does not account for resources constructed during these time frames but later demolished. Source: HHM survey data, 2016.

Spatially, residential and commercial development in the postwar period generally were spotty and piecemeal (*figure I-62*). Much of the East Austin

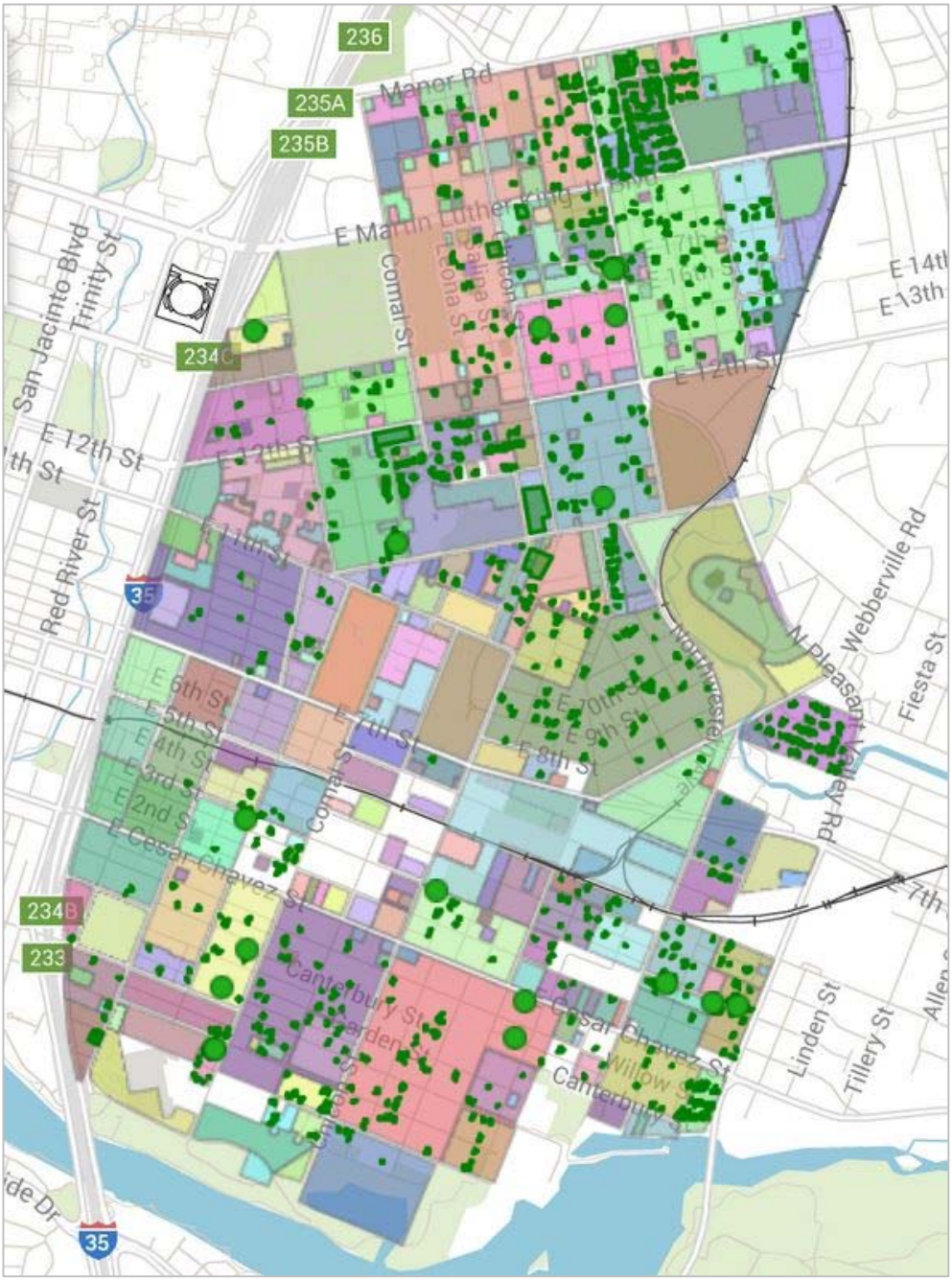


Figure I-62. Map depicting the spatial distribution of extant residential construction in East Austin from 1947 to 1969, shown in green. The multicolored patchwork represents subdivisions. Map by HHM, using Google base map, 2016.

survey area was platted prior to World War II, but not fully built out until after the war's conclusion. The trend of "Merchant Builders," who both subdivided land and constructed houses for sale, and often provided financing as well, did not reach East Austin until the 1960s.[9] Instead, each property owner took responsibility for building a house on their own land.[10] For example, the College Heights Subdivision east of Chicon Street and north of East 11th Street was built out gradually from about 1910 through 1957. House plans and styles varied according to the day's popular tastes. (Refer to the *Survey Results*

section for additional discussion of College Heights as a potential historic district.) Based on analysis of Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps and survey data, other subdivisions that contained a substantial number of undeveloped lots after World War II included:

- The Elm Grove Subdivision, the Voss Addition, the Free & Williams Subdivision, the Magnolia Addition, portions of the Leonard M. Tobins Resubdivison of the Riverside Addition, and portions of the Driving Park Additions, all roughly bound by Holly Street, the river, and East Avenue (later IH 35);
- The Glenwood Addition, roughly bound by East 19th Street (MLK, Jr. Boulevard), Walnut Avenue, East 12th Street, and Chestnut Avenue;
- The C. R. Johns Subdivision, F. Wilhem Sr. Subdivision, and Crows Subdivision, all roughly bound by Manor Road, Chestnut Avenue, East 16th Street, and Chicon Street; and
- The Austin Heights Subdivision, roughly bound by Manor Road, Alexander Avenue, the line of Rogers Avenue, and Walnut Avenue (the Austin Heights Subdivision is further evaluated in the *{dz\ØŜè wŜădzfúă* section).

From 1946 through ca. 1960, new houses were generally small, and additions and outbuildings often were constructed over time to enlarge living space and work space. In the 1950s, a number of large, older homes were subdivided into apartments, consistent of the trend toward small, modest living spaces in East Austin. The houses in the Felix Williams subdivision, in the southeastern most corner of the project area, represent this trend. Platted in 1946, the Felix Williams subdivision contains an intact collection of small, late 1940s Minimal Traditional bungalows (*figure I-63*). Beginning ca. 1960, some new subdivision plats incorporated cul-de-sacs, a layout feature reminiscent of many postwar curvilinear suburbs of the era, but used on a much smaller scale. Notable examples in East Austin are the Washington and Holy Cross Heights Subdivisions—roughly bound by Cedar Avenue, East 19th Street (MLK, Jr. Boulevard), Chestnut Avenue, and East 20th Street. (Refer to the *Survey Results* section for discussion of a potential Washington–Holy Cross Historic District.)

Figure I-63. Photograph of an example of a typical postwar residential building in East Austin at 2706 Willow Street, constructed in 1948.The house is a small Minimal Traditional bungalow with a rear addition. Rear additions like the one on this house were commonly constructed onto these small houses to enlarge living and work space. Like many houses built between 1946 and ca. 1960, this house has a small outbuilding (in this example, the outbuilding is a back or alley house). Photo by HHM, 2016.

Following patterns set in earlier eras, industrial operations remained concentrated along rail lines, and commercial developments tended to be located in small nodes at the intersections of prominent roads (*figure I-64*).

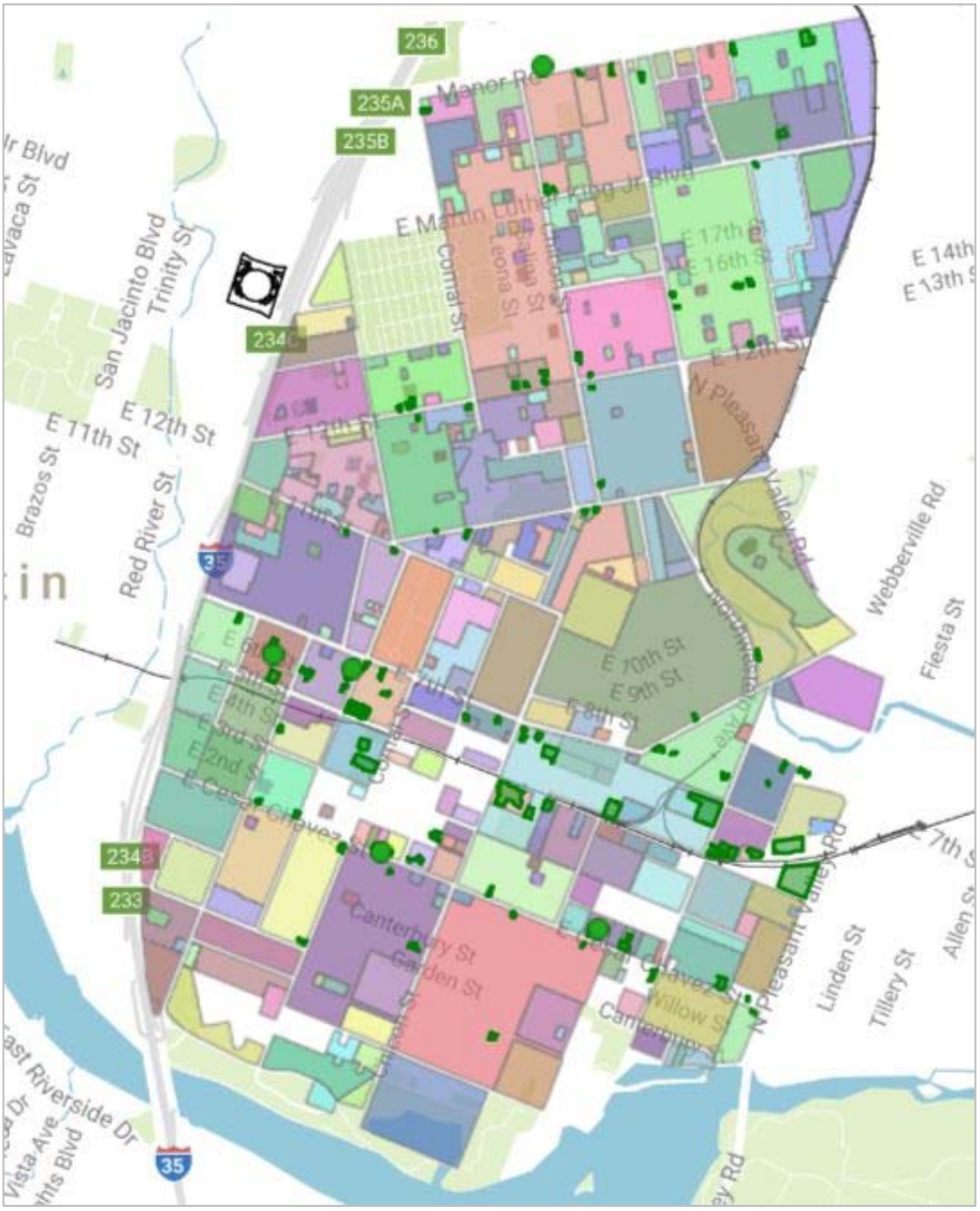


Figure I-64. Map depicting the spatial distribution of extant commercial and industrial resources in East Austin constructed from 1947 to 1961, shown in green. The multicolored patchwork represents subdivisions. Map by HHM, using Google base map, 2016.

As in earlier eras, the location of commercial resources was closely related to bus routes, which continued to travel primarily along East 1st (Cesar Chavez), East 6th, East 12th, East 19th (MLK, Jr. Boulevard) Streets, and Manor Road.[11] Analysis of Sanborn maps also indicates that a number of auto-related commercial resources began to appear in the postwar era. Examples include a tourist court, hotel, and multiple gas stations along East 11th Street, and auto sales and auto repair facilities along East 6th and East 1st (Cesar Chavez) Streets. Businesses along these corridors began to provide surface parking lots in the front or on the side of their lots. Many of these resources have been demolished as part of the intense redevelopment of these commercial

corridors in recent years, but a number of intact examples continue to communicate the physical character typical of commercial development in East Austin in the postwar years (*figure I-65*).

Figure I-65. Photograph of a typical example of a postwar commercial building in East Austin at 1312 East Cesar Chavez, constructed in 1950. The corner location at the intersection of East Cesar Chavez and Navasota Streets is typical of longstanding commercial patterns in East Austin, but the provision of a surface parking lot is a new feature characteristic of the postwar era. Note, however, that the parking lot is relatively narrow, likely due to the fact that car ownership in East Austin continued to be relatively low compared to other areas, and pedestrian traffic was still common. City directories and Sanborn maps of the time show a dry cleaner operating at this location. Photo by HHM, 2016.

2.7.2. POST-WORLD WAR II FEDERAL HOUSING AND LENDING POLICIES

2.7.2.1. Mortgage Lending Policies

During the postwar era, discriminatory mortgage lending policies slowed the pace of construction in neighborhoods in East Austin. As introduced earlier in *Section 2.6*, the federal government perpetuated inequalities in lending through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) mortgage insurance program, which considered loans in minority areas to pose a greater risk of default, regardless of the individual borrower's financial profile. Prior to 1949, FHA endorsed covenants that restricted the race of potential homeowner. However, the Supreme Court found racial restrictive covenants to be unconstitutional in 1949, and the FHA no longer advocated covenants but continued to use race as a factor in evaluating loan risk.[12] Even after the Housing Act of 1948 enabled returning veterans to apply their G.I. benefits toward a down payment for a home,[13] lack of financing for the remaining balance of the home kept home ownership out of the reach of many African American and Mexican American veterans.

Private lending practices compounded the lack of access to financing. For example, most private financial institutions in Austin would not lend money to a Black homeowner without a referral from a white client.[14] Furthermore, private lenders capped the amount they would lend – typically about $2,500 around 1946, enough to build only a 600- or 700-square-foot house. Without access to mortgage financing, many homeowners paid cash, which similarly constrained the size of the house that could be built.[15] Homeowners often constructed additions or outbuildings over time, to accommodate growing

families, as they paid off the initial loan and acquired a new loan, or as they accrued more savings.

2.7.2.2. Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal

As part of a series of policies intended to increase the supply of safe and affordable housing to remedy postwar housing shortages, Congress passed the Federal Housing Act of 1949. The Act provided funds for the construction of low-rent public housing and research regarding efficient home building, and authorized the expenditure of $1 billion nationwide to assist local governments with "slum clearance and urban redevelopment."[16] The federal aid was to be distributed to local governments to allow them to purchase and demolish properties deemed substandard, and to build public facilities such as schools on the cleared sites. In 1950, the Austin City Council resolved to request $538,250 in slum clearance funds from the FHA,[17] but provisions in Texas's legislation regarding condemnation prevented the federal dollars from reaching Texas. In 1956, the city again requested $532,250, but this time stipulated that, "No attempt would be made to condemn land for private development. But, land in a selected area for redevelopment could be condemned for such public purposes as relocation of streets, for drainageways, or parks."[18] In 1960, the City of Austin finally received $395,750 in federal funds for slum clearance.[19] (The urban renewal projects that resulted from these funds later in the 1960s are discussed later in *Section 2.8*.)

Because of the difficulty of obtaining federal funding and the legal obstacles to outright condemnation of land for slum clearance, the city devised a sideways strategy, where it increased the density allowed by zoning, and then raised property taxes to price residents out of areas desired for slum clearance. As described by a 1956 article in the *Austin American Statesman*, "A man could continue living in the area if he chose, but his property would be 'non-conforming' from the zoning standpoint, and his taxes probably would be prohibitive – too high to justify continued residential use of the land."[20] The overwhelming majority of the private contractors who benefitted from the public funds for slum clearance were owned by white men.[21] The desire to increase zoning in "slums" motivated the city to revise and update its 1928 plan by Koch and Fowler.[22] The resulting revisions were formally adopted in 1958 in a new plan known as *The Austin Plan*, prepared by consultants from Pacific Planning and Research, based in Palo Alto, California.[23] The policy conclusions of the plan explicitly list slum clearance as a priority, stating that:

- There are a number of areas that have been rendered less desirable because of inadequate services, streets and community facilities or the encroachment of traffic or undesirable uses. Every effort should be made to carry out a renewal or conservation program, preferably with financial assistance from the Federal Government.

- An urban redevelopment agency should work and plan to replace the many substandard houses in Austin with standard houses and, where appropriate, remove the extensive amount of substandard housing found in East Austin and other areas of the city.[24]

No mention was made of the fact that the "inadequate services, streets and community facilities" were due to city officials' willful allocation of tax dollars away from East Austin (as will be discussed in further detail in *Section 2.7.3.1*). Furthermore, one factor in the determination of what constituted "substandard" housing was housing size, which was constrained by discriminatory lending practices.

The Austin Plan goes on to establish "The Need for Industry" as a priority as well, devoting more focus to this topic than any other. The plan argues that the need for industry is based on the need for job growth, and that in "1950, Travis County had the lowest proportion of manufacturing employees of any county over 100,000 population in the United States."[25] East Austin is described as an attractive location for future industrial growth given its connection to rail lines. Unsurprisingly, the plan then proposes that the problem of industrial growth can be solved by moving all industrial zoning to East Austin, with the area south of East 7th Street zoned as exclusively industrial. A comparison of the plan's map of existing conditions in 1956 (*figure I-66 on the following page*) versus proposed zoning (*figure I-67, to follow*) shows the proposed rezoning's magnitude. The added bonus of slum clearance is stated explicitly:

> … the fact that almost one-half of the residential uses are substandard offers the possibility of redevelopment of the area for industrial purposes. Because of the extent of the substandard housing and the size of the area it is doubtful that such a redevelopment program could be accomplished without federal assistance.[26]

The issue of displacing residents was not addressed in the plan.

Given the proposal to remove all residential use from the area south of East 7th Street, *The Austin Plan* goes on to propose abandoning all schools and parks in the area (*figure I-68, to follow*). Based on analysis of Sanborn maps, the public facilities proposed for abandonment appear to have included the Metz School at 84 Robert Martinez Jr. Street (*figure I-69, to follow*), as well as the Zavala School and the associated Pan American Recreation Center and adjacent park at 310 Robert Martinez Jr. Street (*figures I-70* and *I-71, to follow*). Inequities in provision of public facilities appear in the area of East Austin north of East 7th Street as well. Although the plan proposes 51 new elementary schools, 20 new junior highs, and eight new high schools, only one new school is proposed for the entire East Austin Survey area—a junior high, to be located at the intersection of East 19th Street (MLK, Jr. Boulevard) and Cedar Avenue (then the location of Holy Cross Hospital, now the location of Campbell Elementary School, which was not constructed until 1991).[27]

In the absence of sufficient federal assistance, the full-scale transition of East Austin south of East 7th Street to industrial use never came to fruition. The uncertainty about the area's future discouraged new residential development, and no new postwar suburbs were platted within the previously undeveloped pockets south of East 7th Street, though existing houses continued to be occupied and modified, and slow infill development occurred over time.[28]

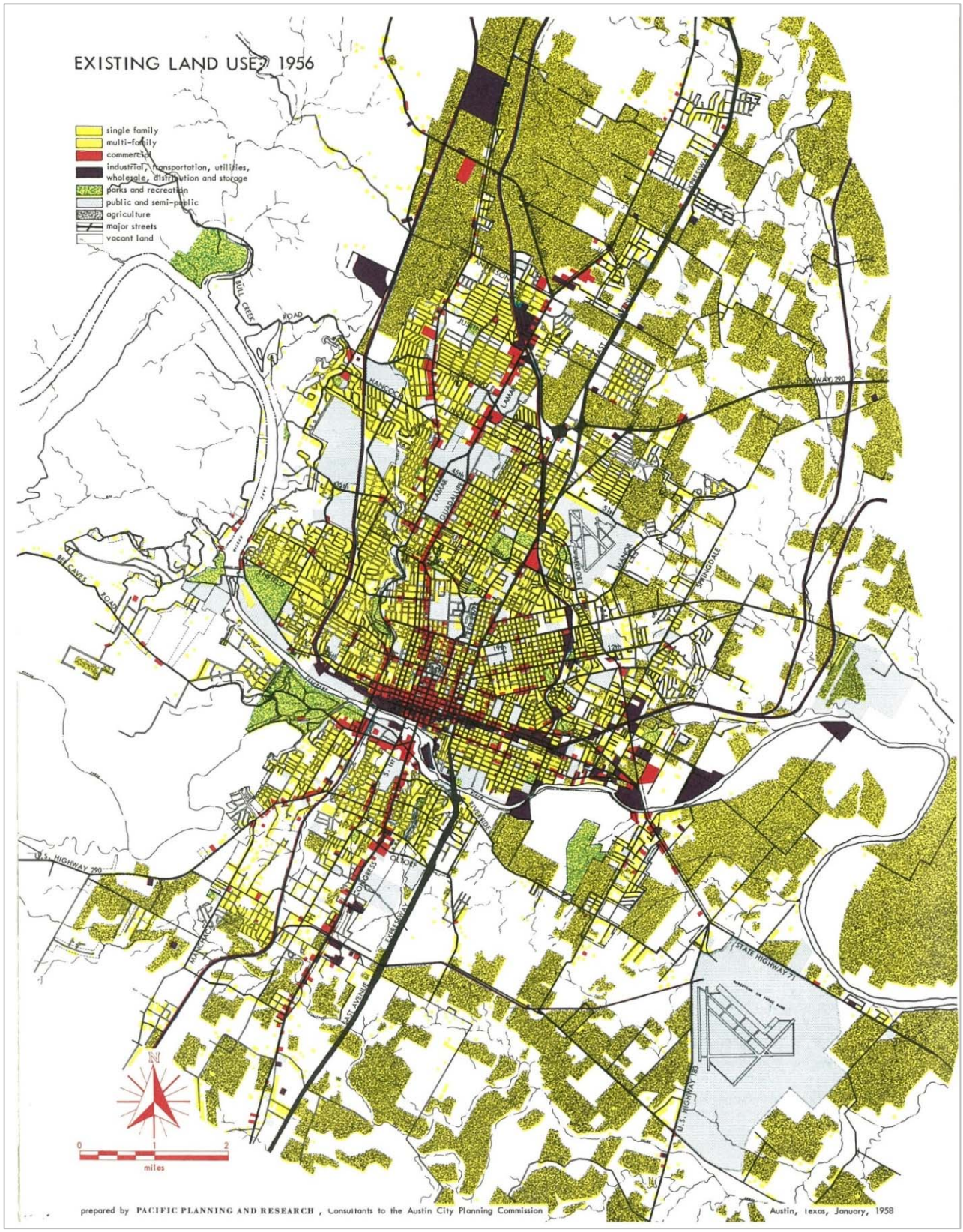


Figure I-66. Map showing existing land use in Austin in 1956. Note the dispersed nature of commercial nodes (red), and the location of industrial areas (purple) immediately abutting rail corridors. Source: Pacific Planning and Research, *The Austin Plan*, 16.

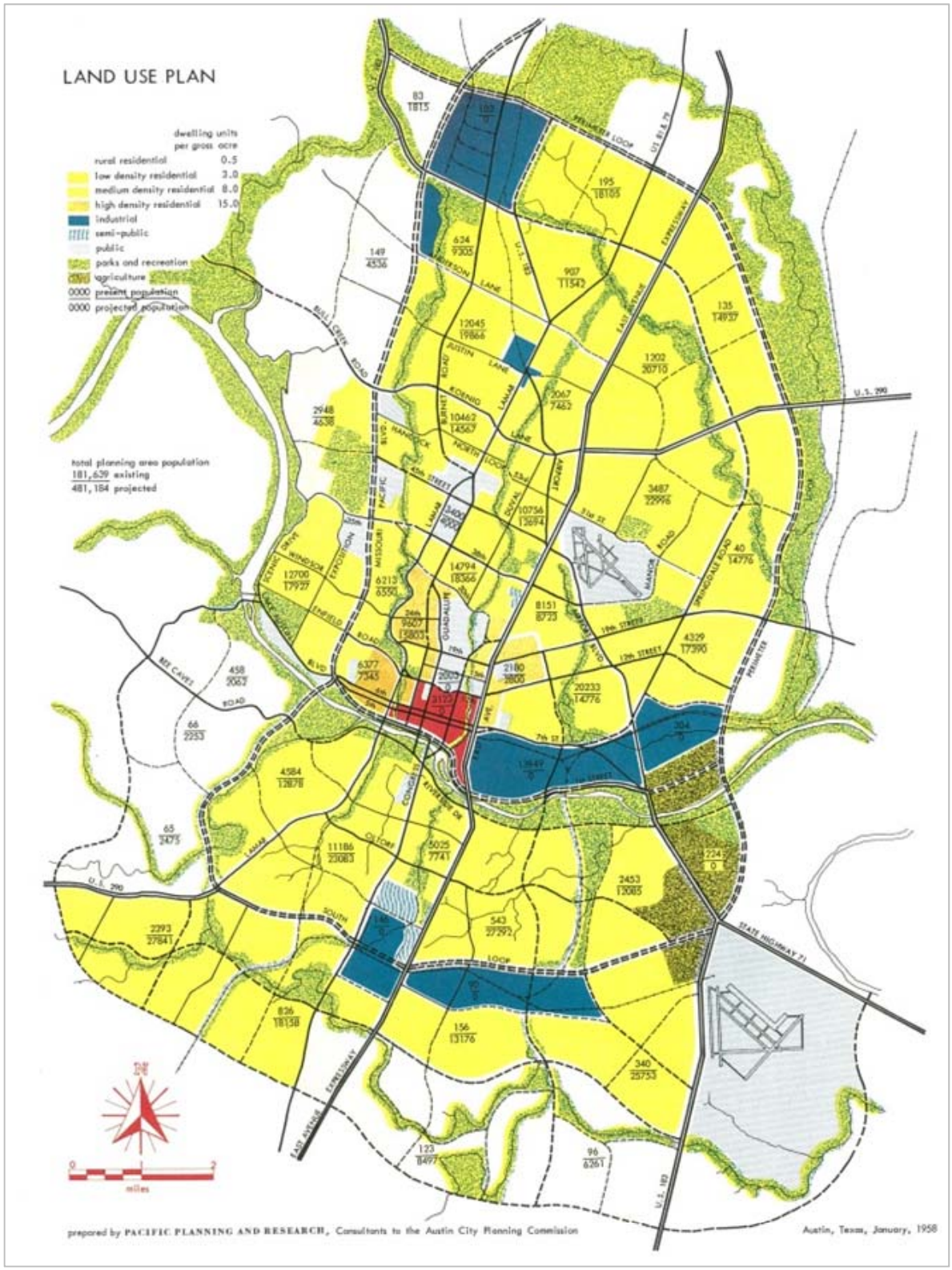


Figure I-67. Map showing zoning changes proposed by *The Austin Plan*. Note the consolidation of industrial uses to East Austin south of East 7th Street (blue). Suggesting to move industrial uses outside of the downtown warehouse district (as seen in figure I-66), the plan proposed to consolidate all commercial use in the downtown area. Also note other similar up-zoned areas throughout Austin, such as the "High Density Residential" zone surrounding the Clarksville community south of Enfield Road, which increased taxes and further encouraged African American families to move to East Austin. Source: Pacific Planning and Research, *The Austin Plan*, 22.

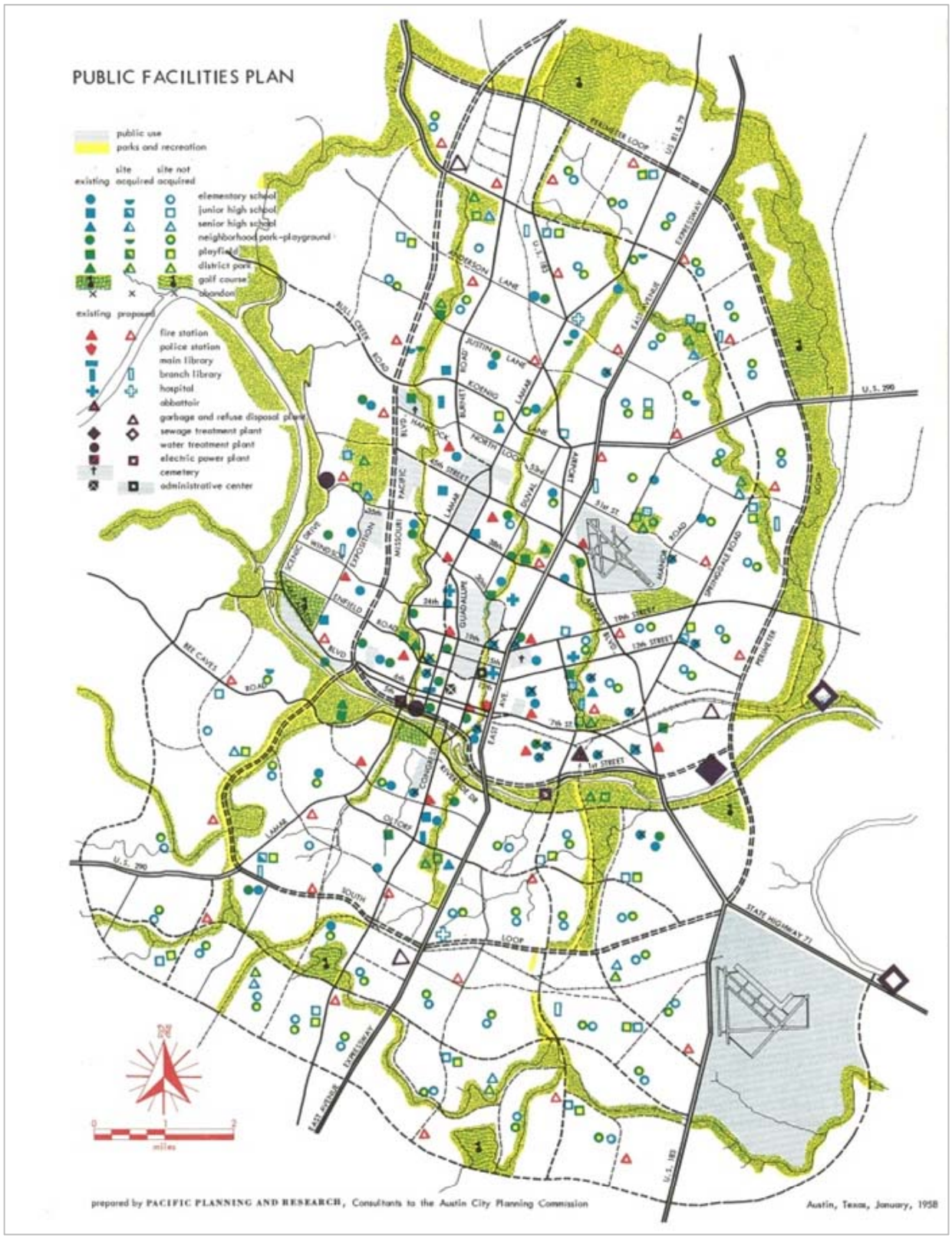


Figure I-68. Map showing the proposed construction of new public facilities as well as the abandonment of public facilities deemed to be unnecessary under the proposed rezoning scheme shown in *Figure I-67* above. Note the "X"s through the schools (blue circles and squares) and parks (green circles) in the area of East Austin south of East 7th Street proposed for industrial rezoning. Source: Pacific Planning and Research, *The Austin Plan*, 60.

Figure I-69. (Above) Photograph of the original Metz School, date unknown. Although Metz Elementary School continues to operate on the same site today, the historic school depicted here is no longer intact. Source: *Metz Elementary School*, date unknown, photograph; from *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting the Austin History Center, accessed June 22, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth125274/m1/1/?q=metz%20school%20austin.

Figure I-70. (Left) Photograph of the Zavala School in 1936, soon after its construction. The Zavala School continues to function as an elementary school today and is significant for its links to the Mexican American community in East Austin; its history is chronicled in a Texas Historical Commission (THC) Subject Marker.[29] Source: Zavala Elementary School, accessed June 22, 2016, http://zavalaelementary.org/.

Figure I-71. Photograph of the Pan American Recreation Center, ca. 1956. The caption reveals the building's historic significance to the Mexican American community in East Austin, stating, "Photograph of exterior view of the Pan American Recreation Center. A car is parked in the parking lot near the entrance. The Pan American Recreation Center was opened in June 1942 as the first Latin American Recreation Center in Austin and run under the auspices of the Federated Latin American Club and directed by the Austin Recreation Department. The name 'Pan American Recreation Center' was chosen by the executive committee during a center naming contest. On September 7, 1956, a new Pan American Recreation Center was formally dedicated at 2100 East 3rd Street, just west of the old location." The building continues to function as a recreation center today, although its historic appearance has been altered significantly. Source: *Pan American Recreation Center Exterior*, ca. 1956, photograph; from *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting the Austin History Center, accessed June 22, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth124719/m1/1/?q=zavala%20school%20austin.

After the implementation of the 1958 plan, the community south of East 7th Street became increasingly Hispanic (*figure I-72, to follow*)—likely due to the decrease in residential property values associated with the fear of industrial development nearby—although the transition was far more subtle than the increase in the African American community north of East 11th Street after the 1928 plan, and a number of white families remained, especially in the areas along Willow, Spence, Canterbury, and East 1st (Cesar Chavez) Streets. The abandonment of Zavala School, the Pan American Recreation Center, and the Metz School never came to pass. By 1967, the proposed new junior high school for the area was constructed south of East 7th Street—at 1601 Haskell Street, where Martin Middle School continues to operate today—rather than north of East 19th Street (MLK, Jr. Boulevard). The Martin Junior High School site on Haskell Street was publicly owned and formerly served as a War Training Production Program site during World War II,[30] so no condemnation proceedings were needed to acquire the property. Several new industrial facilities were constructed south of East 7th Street after 1958, but they hugged the rail line for the most part, as similar operations had done since the 1870s (*figure I-73, to follow*). The most significant industrial development in the area, however, was constructed by the City of Austin itself—the Holly Street Power Plant (further discussed in *Section 2.7.3.1* below and *Section 2.8.4*).

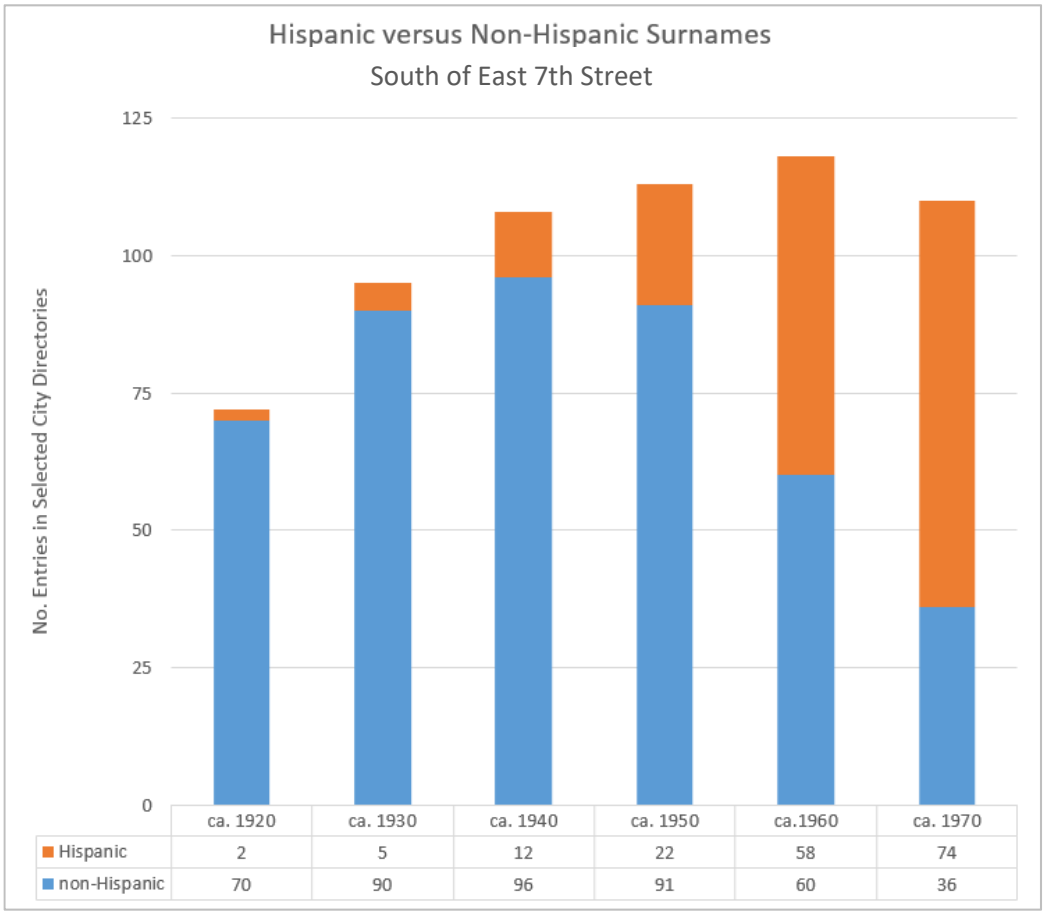


Figure I-72. (Right) Analysis of City Directory research conducted for selected properties as part of the East Austin Historic Resources Survey. Although the sample of data used is not comprehensive and not necessarily representative, it shows that the transition from non-Hispanic to Hispanic surnames in the area south of East 7th Street was gradual, but increased significantly after the implementation of the 1958 plan. (Refer to *Appendix C* for more detailed City Directory research regarding individual properties.) Source: Austin History Center, City Directories.

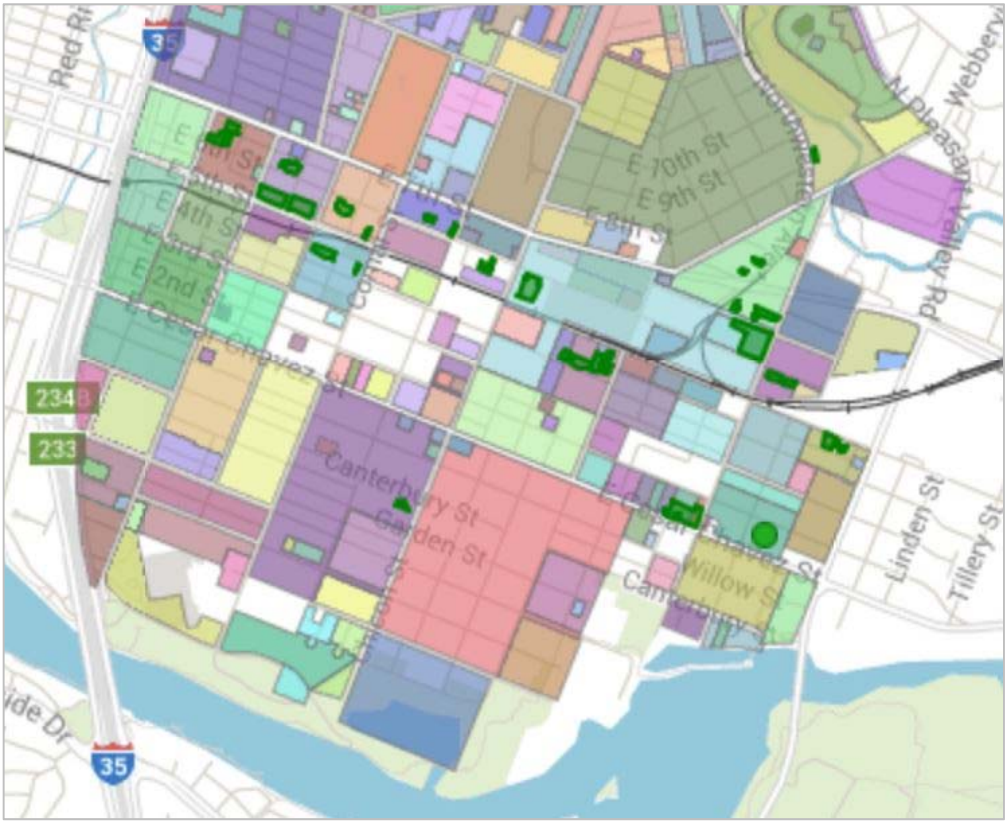


Figure I-73. (Left) Map of survey area south of East 7th Street, showing industrial resources constructed after 1958 in green. The multicolored patchwork of squares represents subdivisions. Map by HHM, using 2016 Google base map.

2.7.3. PUBLIC SERVICES IN JIM CROW AUSTIN

2.7.3.1. Inequities in Municipal Services

Even as the city worked to clear "slums" in East Austin, the government system was changing so that East Austinites held less political power. Until 1950—when the city made its initial application for federal slum clearance—City Council representatives were elected from geographic districts, so that East Austin had some political representation, although no African American or Mexican American representative had ever been elected. In 1951, "community activist and journalist Arthur B. DeWitty was nearly elected the first Black on the Austin City Council. Election to the Council was then changed to all at-large, making it much more difficult for a minority candidate to win."[31] During the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, political organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) helped slowly bring an end to systematic discrimination in federal policy, yet political influence at the local level stayed out of reach. That political disenfranchisement allowed the city's slum clearance applications and *The Austin Plan* to gain approval with little opposition, as well as the continued segregation and inequities in public services typical of the Jim Crow South.[32]

By the postwar era, photographs indicate that electrical service extended to most of the East Austin survey area, but the city did not provide water and sewer service to many areas until the 1960s.[33] The small number of paved roads constituted another major inequity. Photographic documentation confirms dirt roads in industrial areas as late as 1959 and in residential areas as late as 1969 (*figures I-74* and *I-75*). After the Federal Aid Highway Act of

Figure I-74. Photograph showing dirt streets remaining in the industrial area along the 800 block of East 4th Street in 1959. Source: City of Austin, *E. 4th Street, Austin, TX*, photograph, March 27, 1959; from the University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting the Austin History Center, accessed June 27, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth123936/.

Figure I-75. Photograph of Rosewood Park, sometime between 1959 and 1969, showing unpaved dirt streets in the background. Source: *Girls and boys playing at Rosewood Park*, ca. 1959–ca. 1969, photograph; from the University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, accessed June 27, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth124736/m1/1/?q=rosewood%20austin.

1944 introduced the plan for a system of interregional highways throughout the country including Austin, federal and state road construction dollars went toward improving the nation's highway system.[34] The interregional highways, which constructed limited access expressways on a regional basis, laid the groundwork for the subsequent Interstate Highway System, founded after the passage of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 under President Eisenhower. These acts witnessed the construction of a new roadway system that affected Austin, as illustrated by maps of the era (*figures I-76* through *I-78* on the following pages). On the East Austin survey area's western edge, construction of the interregional highway began in 1950. The roadway was later expanded into IH 35 with improvements completed from 1959 to 1962. (Refer to *Section 2.8* for additional discussion of the interstate and its effects.)

As Works Progress Administration (WPA)-era federal funding came to an end, construction of new parks and schools declined as well. For example, in 1947, as demand for new schools increased in the booming new subdivisions at the edge of town, the "colored" Olive Street Elementary School closed.[35] In 1953, Lott Park opened on the school's former site.[36] However, some continued funding for segregated schools was required to keep up the appearance of "separate but equal" facilities required by the Supreme Court's 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling, especially given the high volume of school construction in other parts of town.[37] So, in 1953, the old L. C. Anderson High School moved

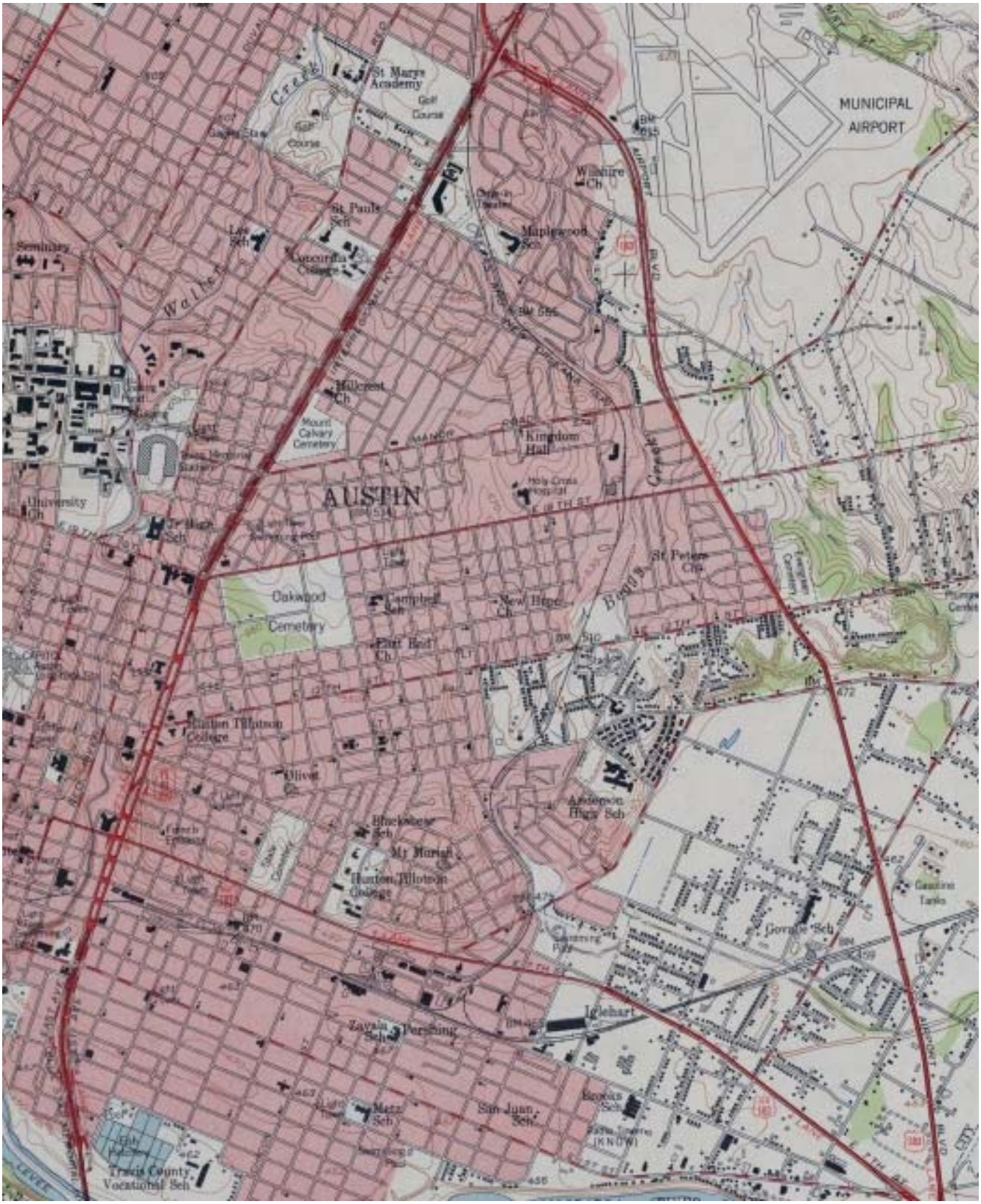


Figure I-76. Detail of map of East Austin, 1954. Source: U.S. Geological Survey, *Austin East Quadrangle* [map], 1954; from the University of Texas Libraries, Perry Castañeda Map Collection, accessed June 27, 2016, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/topo/texas/txu-pclmaps-topo-tx-austin_east-1954.jpg.

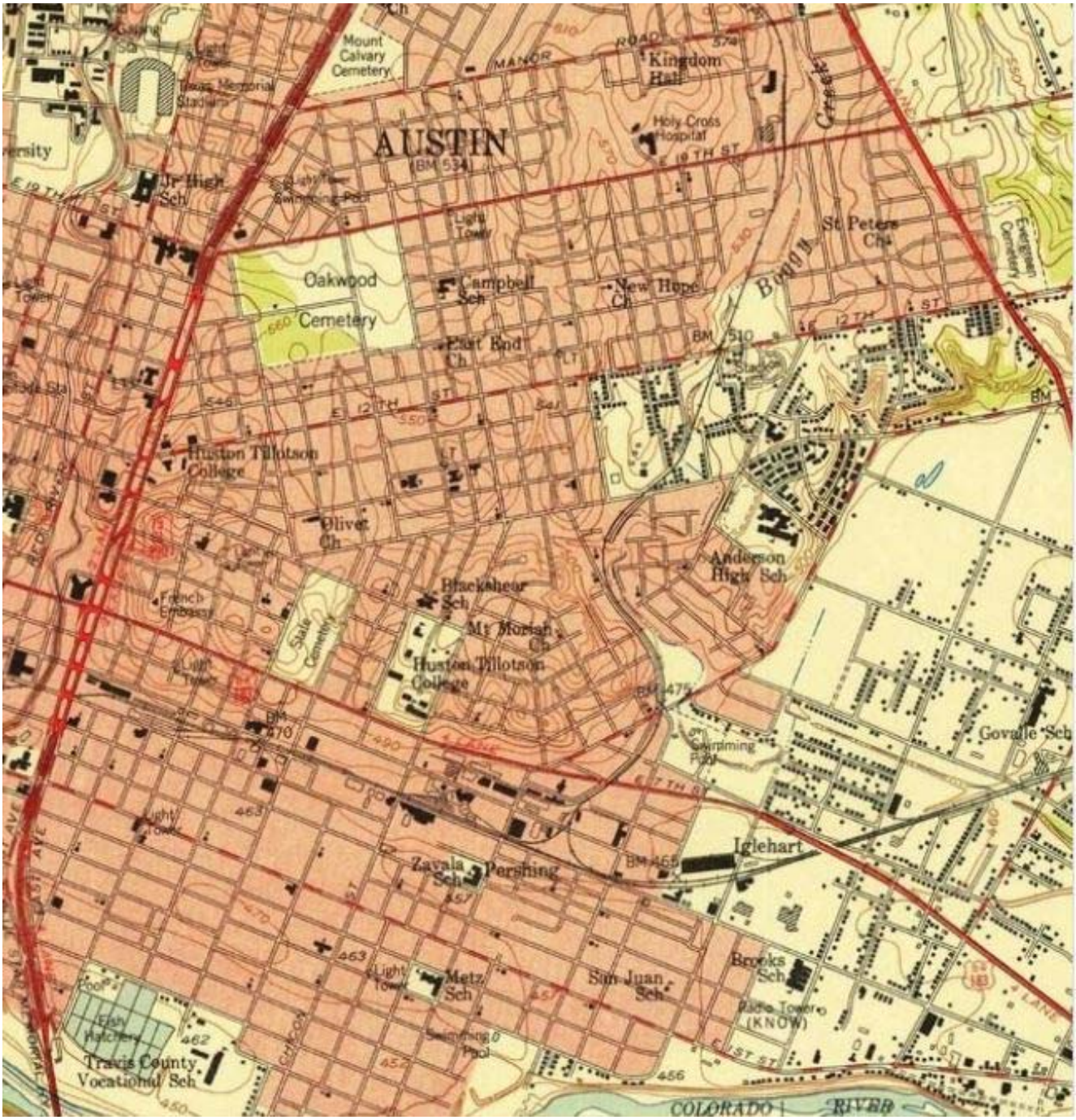


Figure I-77. Detail of 1956 map showing East Austin. Source: U.S. Geological Survey, *Austin East Quadrangle* [map], 1956; from the University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting UNT Libraries Government Documents Department, accessed June 27, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth454315/m1/1/.

Figure I-78. Detail of Texas Highway Department map from 1961 showing portions of East Austin. Note that FM 969 (East 19th Street/MLK Boulevard) is marked "FAS," noting that it is part of the Federal Aid System and therefore eligible for federal and state funding for roadway improvements. Source: Texas Highway Department, *Travis County*, 1961; from the Texas State Library and Archives, Map No. 5313.

from Pennsylvania Avenue[38] to Thompson Street (outside the East Austin survey area).[39] Sanborn maps show that, between 1953 and 1962, the adjacent Kealing Junior High expanded into the former Anderson facilities on Pennsylvania Avenue. Kealing continues to operate on this site today, although its historic buildings were devastated by fire and rebuilt in 1986.[40]

In 1957, Austin voters approved a bond for $8.65 million to be spent on improvements to the water, sewer, and electrical systems, as well as roadways and parks. In an address to City Council, prominent Black East Austin resident Dr. Everett H. Givens communicated the need for "street and bridge improvements, street lighting, a new fire truck, a new park, and improvements to Rosewood Park."[41] The park included the 1940's Doris "Dorie" Miller Auditorium and a recreation center – both significant amenities that remain key community assets today (*figure I-79* below). Nonetheless, the much-needed improvements to the sewer and roadway systems arrived more slowly, with delays stretching into the 1960s.

Figure I-79. Photograph of the Doris "Dorie" Miller Auditorium in Rosewood Park, at 2300 Rosewood Avenue. After the park and auditorium were completed in 1943 they became a central gathering place for the Civil Rights Movement in East Austin, and a landmark civil rights march in 1963 began at Rosewood Park and ended downtown at Wooldridge Park.[42] Photo by HHM, 2016.

The most substantial City investment in East Austin municipal services during the postwar era, though—the Holly Street Power Plant—constituted a major inequity in environmental justice. The City constructed the Holly Street Power Plant along the shore of Town Lake (now Lady Bird Lake) beginning in 1958, first producing power in 1960, and continuing to grow through 1974. The power plant's noise was a nuisance incompatible with adjacent residential use, and later, in the 1970s, neighbors protested oil spills and seepage of dangerous chemicals into the adjacent lake's soils and waters as well.[43] When the city selected the site for the plant prior to 1958, though, the planners preparing of *The Austin Plan* conceived that the entire neighborhood would redevelop for industrial use, so the concerns of the residential neighbors were given little thought.

2.7.3.2. Religious Institutions as Social Service Providers

In the absence of municipal services, religious institutions grew and expanded to meet the health and welfare needs of East Austin's residents. Within East Austin's African American community, one example of this trend was the founding and expansion of the Holy Cross church, school, and hospital. In 1936, Eva Marie Mosby and her husband James (*figure I-80*) succeeded in

Figure I-80. Photograph of the house at 1132 Chicon Street built by the Mosby family in 1954. In addition to their work to found Holy Cross Church in 1936, in the spirit of outreach so prominent in East Austin in the era, the Mosby family worked with numerous other charities. Mr. James E. Mosby, Jr. worked with the Knights of Columbus, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Salvation Army, the Austin Rehabilitation Center, Caritas Austin, earning the Pro Ecclesia Et Pontifice Medal from the Pope in 1967 and receiving recognition as an "Austin Living Legend" in *The Villager* community newspaper in1991. Mrs. Eva Marie Mosby worked actively with the Parent Teacher associations of a number of neighborhood schools, as well as with numerous programs within the Catholic church, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Ladies of Charity of Austin, and many other organizations—including the Austin Historic Landmarks Commission.[44] Because James and Eva Marie Mosby are significant for their associations with the trend of religious outreach during the postwar period, the house meets criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) under Criterion B; however, because it meets only one criterion, it is not eligible for individual local landmark listing under Austin's current regulations. Although the windows have been replaced, the house otherwise communicates its historic appearance and retains its overall physical integrity. Photo by HHM, 2016.

their efforts to found the first African American Catholic Parish in Austin—Holy Cross Catholic Church—and a new church building was completed a year later at 1610 East 11th Street, where the parish continues to worship today.[45] A small school began in the church's basement in 1939 and then grew to include a separate school building on the property ca. 1945.[46] A two-story, wood-frame hospital also was constructed on the site in 1940 (*figure I-81* below). By 1950, a new hospital was constructed at 2600 E. 19th Street (MLK Jr. Boulevard; *figure I-82*, to follow),[47] and the school expanded to include the old wooden hospital on the church site[48] before closing in 1960.[49]

Figure I-81. Historic photograph of the wooden hospital constructed behind Holy Cross Church at 1610 East 11th Street in 1940, taken in 1950. This building later became part of the Holy Cross School, which operated until 1960. The building is no longer extant today. Source: Neal Douglass, *Holy Cross Hospital old & new* [photograph], July 11, 1950; from the University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, accessed June 26, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth33891/.

Figure I-82. Photograph of the newly constructed Holy Cross Hospital at 2600 East 19th Street in 1950. This building is no longer extant today, demolished to allow construction of Campbell Elementary School in the 1990s. Source: Neal Douglass, *Holy Cross Hospital*, July 11, 1950, photograph; from the University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, accessed June 26, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth33892/.

Within the Mexican American community, Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church was similarly important. Founded in 1907, the parish held services in a small church downtown at East Pine (5th) Street and Guadalupe Avenue. In 1926, a new wooden church was built at 1206 East 9th Street. The congregation continued to grow and expand, and in 1953, they replaced the church with a larger building of masonry construction that stands on the same site (*figure I-83* below).[50] This church remains an active institution and an important landmark in the community. As shown by Sanborn maps, in the postwar era the church complex expanded to include two church halls, a convent, a rectory, and a school.[51]

Figure I-83. Photograph of Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church at 1206 East 9th Street. The church was constructed in 1953 and is associated with the trend of religious institutions as community service providers during the postwar era, which is significant historically and for its community value. In addition, the church is a noteworthy example of simplified mid-century interpretation of Classical Revival architecture in East Austin. As such, the building meets criteria for designation as a City of Austin landmark, as well as individual listing in the National Register. Photo by HHM, 2016.

Among other examples of historically significant religious institutions that made vital contributions to community needs during this period include Ebenezer Baptist Church, constructed at 1011 San Marcos Street in 1932 and

expanded in 1955; Cristo Rey Catholic Church, constructed at 2201 East 2nd Street in 1957; Primera Iglesia Bautista, constructed in 1959 at 112 Medina Street; and David Chapel Missionary Baptist Church, constructed at 2211 East 19th Street (MLK Jr. Boulevard) according to the design of John Chase, the first Black architect to graduate from the University of Texas (*figure I-84*).[52]

Figure I-84. (Right) Photograph of David Chapel Missionary Baptist Church at 2211 East 19th Street (MLK, Jr. Boulevard), designed by noted Black Austin architect John Chase and constructed in 1959. Chase, a Maryland native, was the first African American to enroll in the University of Texas School of Architecture, and the first Black architect licensed in Texas.[1] In addition to David Chapel, Chase's works within the East Austin Survey area include the Phillips House at 2310 East 19th Street (MLK, Jr. Boulevard), the King-Tears Mortuary at 1300 East 12th Street, Olivet Baptist Church at 1179 San Bernard Street, and the Colored Teachers State Association of Texas Building at 1191 Navasota Street, which was individually listed in the National Register in 2005.[1] Source: Texas Historical Commission, "Texas Time Travel," accessed June 27, 2016, http://texastimetravel.toursphere.com/en/austin-david-chapel-missionary-baptist-church-64310.html.

Sanborn maps also show significant improvements made by the religiously affiliated Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations (YMCA and YWCA) and the Salvation Army in the postwar era. Similarly, in 1952, the Congregational Tillotson College merged with the Methodist Huston College to create Huston-Tillotson College, which served as the only local institution of higher education accessible to African Americans until educational segregation was declared unconstitutional in 1954.[53] (See *Section 2.7.4.1* for further information on desegregation in schools.) With the merger, the college expanded its facilities significantly so that, by 1962, Sanborn maps showed a new cafeteria, gym, library, two new dormitories, and two new science buildings (*figure I-85* below).

Figure I-85. (Left) Photograph of one of the two new science buildings, currently known as Dickey-Lawless Hall, constructed on the campus of Huston-Tillotson College in 1954. Photo by HHM, 2016.

2.7.3.3. Community Outreach and Organization

In addition to the religious organizations devoted to the health and welfare of East Austin's residents, community organizations in the postwar era grew increasingly political, joining with the nationwide Civil Rights Movement to correct inequities in public policy and public services in the Jim Crow South. With the Austin's at-large City Council creating an overwhelming obstacle to political enfranchisement at the local level, political organizations instead focused on federal elections. In the U.S. Congress, Texas's 10th Congressional District—which included East Austin—was represented by Lyndon B. Johnson from 1937 until 1939, Homer Thornberry from 1949 to 1963, and J. J. "Jake" Pickle from 1963 until 1996. Each of these representatives depended upon the political support of their constituents in East Austin for election, and, in turn, each supported federal civil rights legislations throughout their tenure in the U.S. Congress. When Johnson sought the Presidential election in 1964, East Austin's political organizations again formed a key component of his successful electoral strategy.[54] Perhaps most significantly, though, East Austin's political organizations also lent critical support to the series of federal court cases that gradually overturned segregation.

For East Austin's Hispanic community, the most prominent political organization in the postwar era was the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). Although its beginnings date as early as 1927, the group was officially organized in 1929 as the merger of a number of preexisting Mexican American organizations. An Austin chapter was active from the outset, formed from an earlier organization known as The Order of the Sons of America.[55] As early as the 1930s, LULAC solidified a political relationship with then-Congressman Lyndon Johnson, but, after World War II, their focus shifted more aggressively toward electing Mexican American representatives rather than simply trusting in the support of white allies.[56] As described in the National Park Service's theme study regarding Latino Heritage:

> Early post-World War II activism transitioned Latino politics from civic organizing to electoral mobilization. Anger over the failure of Latino candidates to be elected to local offices in California and Texas led to the formation of community organizations focused on candidate recruitment, voter registration, and voter mobilization. The result was a series of electoral "firsts" in which Latinos were elected to a specific office for the first time.[57]

For East Austin, elected representation remained elusive, but court challenges yielded slow but real progress toward undermining segregation. In 1947, with East Austin resident José "Joe" Maldonado at the helm as LULAC national president, the organization spearheaded the *Delgado v. Bastrop* court challenge (further described in *Section 2.7.4.1*).[58] Maldonado lived at 1410 East 3rd Street as early as 1944, continuing to at least 1955, and the house remains extant today (*figure I-86*, to follow).[59] The role of Mexican American organizations such as LULAC is widely accepted as significant to the history of the United States at the nationwide level, as documented by the National Park Service's *American Latino Theme Study*.[60]

Figure I-86. Photograph of the home of LULAC national president Dr. Jose "Joe" Maldonado at 1410 East 3rd Street, constructed around 1935 and serving as the home of the Maldonado family through Dr. Maldonado's LULAC presidency in 1947 and beyond. The home serves as an important link to the trend of LULAC's political work to fight segregation in the midcentury era, which is significant for both its historical and community value. In addition, the house serves as a typical example of how the Mexican American aesthetic was applied to the Craftsman Bungalow in East Austin, with the addition of a stucco veneer, a fenced front lawn that some consider to simulate the feel of the traditional Hispanic courtyard house plan, and a traditional altar in the yard.[1] As such, the house meets criteria for listing as a City landmark and in the National Register. Photo by HHM, 2016.

Civil Rights Movement in East Austin focused on developing relationships with white politicians such as Congressman J. J. "Jake" Pickle and Texas governor John Connally, promoting court challenges to end segregation, and pressuring city and state agencies to change discriminatory policies. Many of the significant individuals within the African American Civil Rights Movement in East Austin are portrayed in the mural *Reflections*, completed in 2011 in the African American Cultural Heritage District along East 11th Street, or commemorated within the portrait collection of Austin's African American Cultural Heritage Foundation.[61] During the postwar period, individuals who significantly contributed to community organization activities while living or working within the East Austin survey's boundaries[62] included Ada and Marcellus J. Anderson (*figure I-87* below), Dr. Everette Givens,[63] Willie Mae

Figure I-87. Historic residence of Ada and Marcellus J. Anderson at 1176 San Bernard Street, constructed in 1922 and occupied by the Andersons during their period or significant community activity in the postwar period. Their lives are associated with trends that hold historic and community value for East Austin, and thus their house meets criteria for listing as a local landmark and in the National Register. Photo by HHM, 2016.

Kirk,[64] Hazel Falke Obey and Reverend James E. Obey, Sr.,[65] and Dr. Charles Urdy.[66] To provide the unified support needed to advance the cause of civil rights, these individuals came together to work with nationwide organizations like the NAACP. Historic photographs document NAACP activity in Austin as early as 1956 (*figure I-88*). The Austin branch of the NAACP was founded by prominent Austin civil rights advocate Volma Overton in 1962, who served as the branch president from 1962 until 1963.[67] From 1962 until 1967, the chapter operated out of Overton family home at 1403 Springdale Road (outside the East Austin survey boundaries), and in 1967, the chapter moved into offices in the Masonic Lodge at 1704 East 12th Street (within the survey boundaries; *figure I-89*).[68] In 1969, Overton opened the first NAACP credit union in Austin[69]—operating out of 1704 East 12th Street as well—as a source of fair and equitable lending for East Austin's African American community.

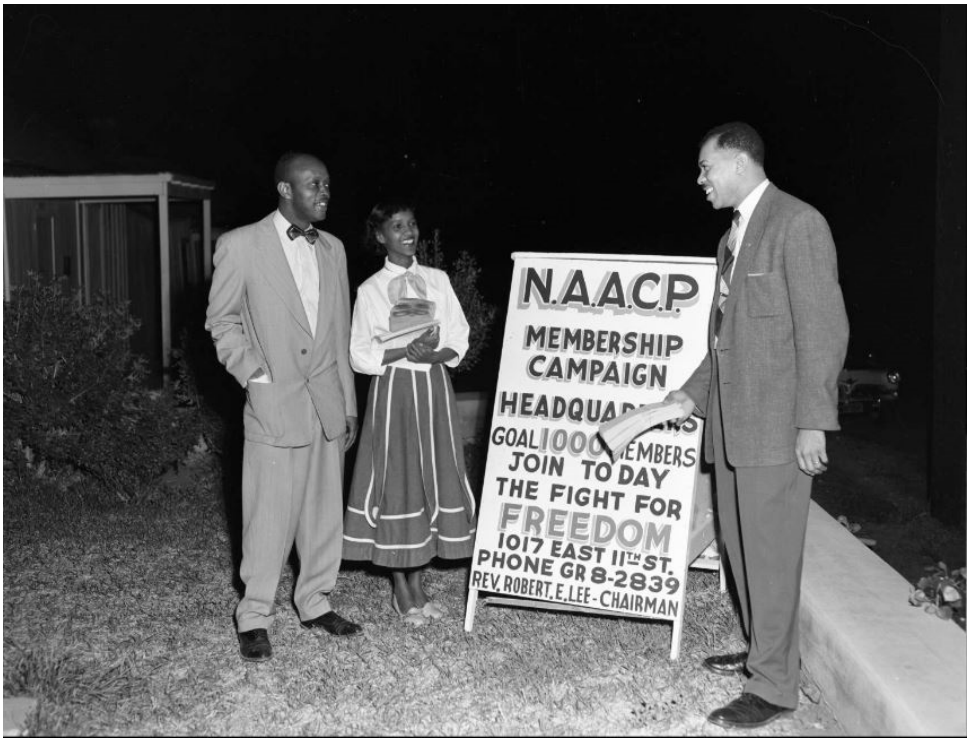


Figure I-88. (Right) Photograph of a NAACP membership campaign, 1956. Note that the sign references the campaign headquarters at 1017 East 11th Street—the Masonic St. Joseph Grand Lodge of Texas, constructed in 1949 in a grand Greek Revival Style—which meets criteria for listing as both a local landmark and on the National Register for its association with the significant trends of civil rights activism and community outreach in the postwar era, as well as its architectural significance. Source: Neal Douglass, NAACP Membership Campaign Headquarters, March 22, 1956, photograph; from the University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, accessed June 27, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth329364/m1/1/?q=NAACP%20AND%20austin.

Figure I-89. (Left) Photograph of the Masonic Lodge at 1704 East 12th Street, which housed the NAACP headquarters and credit union beginning in the late 1960s.[70] Due to this significant link to the Civil Rights Movement's influence on the history and community of East Austin, the resource meets criteria for listing as a local landmark and on the National Register. Photo by HHM, 2016.

2.7.3.4. Cultural Institutions

Cultural institutions played a vital role in the creation and dissemination of a unified cultural identity, necessary to forge the political coalitions that brought about changes in civil rights. This trend not only applied to East Austin but also across the entire country. To that end, places such as print shops, record stores, dance halls, and theaters used to support these kinds of activities became important within many minority communities, including East Austin, and are tangible links to the Civil Rights Movement of the period.

One particularly noteworthy example of such a cultural institution in East Austin is the Victory Grill at 1104 East 11th Street (*figure I-90*). Proprietor Johnny Holmes[71] combined food popular among African Americans and music to draw the community together. Victory Grill initially opened in 1945 but moved into a new building two years later (surviving at 1104 East 11th Street). Victory Grill became a cultural hub within the local African American community until its closure in 1973.[72]

Figure I-90. Photo of noted East Austin restaurant and music venue Victory Grill at 1104 East 11th Street. The Victory Grill was listed individually in the NRHP in 2006 and as a City of Austin Historic Landmark in 2006.[73] Photo by HHM, 2016.

Radio programs catering to African Americans similarly combined music with news and political discussion to bring the community together. In 1947, for example, Austin's first Black radio personality, Elmer Atkins, hosted a gospel program on the KVET (1300 AM) radio station, owned by future politicians J. J. "Jake" Pickle and John Connally, among others. By 1948, KVET hosted the Reverend Albert Lavada Durst, also known as "Dr. Hepcat," as "the first black disc jockey in Texas, broadcasting six days a week."[74] In addition to news and music, KVET radio also broadcast sports and sports news, drawing in yet another cultural pillar of Austin's African American community.[75] Old Anderson High's football team, especially, was a source of pride for East Austin,[76] and KVET's broadcast of its games assured that the entire city shared the team's successes.

The Mexican American community also found a cultural presence on KVET with the nightly Spanish-language show, *Noche De Fiesta*,[77] hosted by Lilialdo "Lalo" Campos.[78] Even more significantly, though, the first exclusively Spanish-language radio station in Austin—KIXN—began its broadcast history in 1949

from a studio at 1209 East 6th Street (*figure I-91*). Given the language barrier between the Mexican American community and Austin's English-speaking political establishment, Spanish language media played a vital role in cultural dissemination and community organization in the postwar era.[79]

Figure I-91. Photograph of 1209 East 6th Street, home of KIXN Spanish-language radio station during the postwar era. Spanish-language radio stations are explicitly recognized for their historic and cultural significance by the National Park Services *American Latino* Theme Study, and the building meets criteria for listing both in the National Register and as a local landmark. Photo by HHM, 2016.

2.7.3.5. Business Institutions

Like religious institutions, community organizations, and cultural institutions, businesses often stepped up to meet community needs during the postwar period. Almost all businesses in East Austin at the time were locally owned, and Safeway was the first chain supermarket in the area when it opened stores at 1601 East 6th Street[80] and 1109 East Avenue (IH 35) in about 1965.[81] Commercial properties in East Austin remained interspersed within residential areas, as shown in *figure I-64*. Business types that catered to East Austin's clientele included mortuaries, tortilla factories, barber shops, and small grocery stores. (Refer to *Appendices B* and *D* for additional detail regarding extant commercial examples.) In contrast, newer suburbs and subdivisions elsewhere in Austin typically contained property set aside specifically for commercial usage. Whereas the latter trend contributed to a sense of separation, the former pattern in East Austin made the local business community more physically and functionally intertwined with its clientele and customer base.[82] Indeed, leaders in East Austin's religious institutions, community organizations, and cultural institutions were often small business owners as well.

The Italian business presence that had shaped the commercial development of East 6th Street since the outset of the 1900s continued well into the 1940s and 1950s. The grocery that the Franzetti family established at 1601 East 6th Street continued to operate until at about 1949, and then the new Franzetti Food Store at 1700 East 12th Street opened by 1949 (extant). While many families of European descent moved out of East Austin during this period, the Franzetti family continued to live near their businesses, continuing to occupy the house at 2001 Chicon through at least 1959, with the growing family moving into nearby residences, including 1616 East 6th Street by 1940 (no longer extant), 1603 East 6th Street by 1949 (no longer extant), and 2011

Chicon by 1949 (extant).[83] The Franzetti family also owned rental property in East Austin through the 1940s—including a house at 1503 East 6th Street and a cluster of rental properties located along the H&TC railroad line near its intersection with East 7th Street—but none of these buildings remain extant today.[84]

In the African American community of East Austin, homebuilder Oliver B. Street exemplified this trend.[85] His firm, Street Construction Company, built some of the most stylish and substantial new buildings in East Austin during the postwar period, notably David Chapel Baptist Church.[86] Yet he also remained devoted to small homebuilding projects for low-income residents of East Austin, often providing mortgage financing with no down payment when banks would not.[87] Throughout his life, Street remained active in Ebenezer Baptist Church, the Prince Hall Masonic Lodge, the NAACP, and numerous other organizations.[88] Ethel Pearl's Beauty Salon at 1504 E. 11th Street, a City of Austin local landmark, also exemplifies this trend. Built around 1910, the house served as a residence until Curtis and Ethel Pearl Batts purchased the property in 1950 and Ethel Pearl opened a beauty salon in the building. The business became a popular socializing spot for Black women in Austin during this period.

King-Tears Mortuary, constructed in 1955 at 1300 East 12th Street (*figure I-92*), held a similarly prominent role in the Black business community in the postwar era. The building was constructed upon the merger of two longstanding Black family-owned mortuaries, the Tears Funeral Home and King Funeral Home.[89] In addition to owning the mortuary, John Quill Taylor King, Senior, whose parents opened King Funeral Home in 1933 on East 6th Street, was an Army veteran and lieutenant general in the Texas State Guard, as well as a longtime mathematics professor at Huston-Tillotson College (now University) and ultimately Chancellor and President. Despite the demands of his many professional pursuits, King devoted his time and energy to fundraising and outreach for both Huston-Tillotson Church and his lifelong church, Wesley Chapel Methodist Episcopal Church.[90] King lived with his wife Marcet at 2400 Givens Avenue (*figure I-93*, to follow).

Figure I-92. Photo of the King-Tears Mortuary, constructed at 1300 East 12th Street in 1955 according to the design of architect John Chase. The building holds historic, community, and architectural value, and meets criteria for listing both as a City landmark and in the National Register. Photo by HHM, 2016.

Figure I-93. (Above) Photo of John Quill Taylor and Marcet King's house at 2400 Givens Street. Built in 1959, the Kings occupied the house from 1962 into the 1990s, according to City directories. During this period of time, King served as Dean, President, and lastly Chancellor of Huston-Tillotson College (now University). He also served as Vice President of King-Tears Mortuary during this period of time. Photo by HHM, 2016.

Mexican American businesses similarly grew and expanded in the postwar period, as second- and third-generation Americans increasingly began starting their own businesses. At the same time, foods popular to Mexican Americans, and other goods, gradually became integrated into mainstream American culture, allowing business distribution to grow.[91] One example of this trend, based in East Austin, was the El Fenix Tortilla factory, operated by Tomás Galindo from about 1945 through 1995. When Galindo began working at El Fenix around 1945, the company sold tortillas to approximately seven local customers from the factory at 1201 East 6th Street (*figure I-94* below).[92] As the business grew, distribution spread statewide, with 70 employees making thousands of cases of tortillas per week.[93] In 1973, Tomás Jr. and his wife Ernestine inherited the business and changed the name to "El Galindo."[94] By 1989, El Galindo estimated that 80 percent of its customers were of Anglo descent.[95] As noted by city directories, the Galindo family lived at 809 Willow Street around 1947,[96] but by 1952 they had moved to 2823 Manor Road in the new Austin Heights subdivision.[97]

Figure I-94. (Left) Photo of the El Fenix tortilla factory—later the El Galindo tortilla factory—at 1201 East 6th Street, constructed in 1948. Tortilla factories are considered a historically and culturally significant part of Latino heritage in East Austin and nationwide. This building represents the most significant known example remaining in East Austin today, and is eligible listing both as a City landmark and in the National Register. Photo by HHM, 2016.

Run predominantly by East Austin residents, the thriving businesses on the east side also catered to the residents living in that part of the city. The city directories from this period indicate that East Austin residents were employed in a multitude of trades and occupations ranging from mechanics, custodians, bakers, teachers and professors, laborers, and sales people.

2.7.4. DESEGREGATION

2.7.4.1. Federal Policy Shifts toward Desegregation

The series of legislative acts and court rulings that finally brought about segregation's end, at least from a legal standpoint, came at the federal level after years of advocacy by groups such as the NAACP and LULAC, religious and community activists, though federal court challenges and the work of politicians like Lyndon Baines Johnson. As set forth in the National Park Service's *Civil Rights Theme Study*, each of these landmark policy changes is considered historically significant at the nationwide level and extend to resources within a local context.

The first significant court decision regarding desegregation to have direct connections to East Austin was *Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District* in 1948. As noted above under *Section 2.7.3.3*, this case was moved forward by LULAC's advocacy under the leadership of national organization president and East Austin resident Jose Maldonado. Within the *Delgado v. Bastrop* case, Judge Ben H. Rice of the U.S District Court, Western District of Texas, "specifically declared unconstitutional the segregation of Mexican Americans in separate classrooms within 'integrated' schools." Exceptions could be made for monolingual Spanish speakers entering the first grade, so that they could receive the specialized instruction necessary to transition to integrated second grade classes."[98]

Later that same year, the Supreme Court ruled in the landmark *Shelley v. Kraemer* case "covenants based on race to be 'unenforceable' and 'contrary to public process.'"[99] The suit was originally filed in St. Louis, Missouri but the ruling had national implications. With this decision, the deed covenants restricting real estate purchases to whites in many of Austin's residential subdivisions became legally invalid immediately.

Next, in 1950, the Supreme Court heard *Sweatt v. Painter*. Like *Delgado*, the *Sweatt* case held direct associations to East Austin. The plaintiff, Heman Sweatt, lived in East Austin at 1209 East 12th Street while attempting to enroll into the Law School at the University of Texas, and the NAACP's legal team—including Thurgood Marshall—stayed in East Austin at 1193 San Bernard Street while the case was under trial in federal district court (*figure I-95*, to follow).[100] The *Sweatt* decision set a critical precedent by establishing that "extracurricular" considerations made it impossible for segregated facilities to be equal. As noted within the National Park Services *Civil Rights Theme Study*:

> Writing for the majority in the Sweatt case, Chief Justice Fred Vinson observed: 'the University of Texas Law School possesses to a far greater extent [than the state's segregated law school for African Americans] those

> qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school. Such qualities ... include reputation of the faculty, experience of the administration, position and influence of the alumni, standing in the community, traditions and prestige.'[101]

Figure I-95. Photograph showing 1193 San Bernard Street, associated with the federal district court case of *Sweatt v. Painter*, which draws an extremely significant historical and cultural connection between East Austin and the history of the Civil Rights Movement nationwide, making the house meet criteria for listing both as a local landmark and in the National Register. Photo by HHM, 2016.

Building upon the precedent set by *Sweatt*, the Supreme Court decided *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* in 1954, which finally and fully declared segregation of public schools to be unconstitutional. Then, in 1957, the *Hernandez v. Driscoll CISD* case fully ended school segregation for Mexican Americans, supported by the precedent set in *Delgado v. Bastrop*.[102]

With these court decisions clearly and definitively establishing the lack of constitutional support for segregation, President Lyndon Johnson pushed the Civil Rights Bill through the U.S. Congress in 1964, followed by the Voting Rights Act in 1965. The Civil Rights Act:

> … banned discrimination by establishments whose goods or services were connected to the flow of interstate commerce and specifically designated for coverage inns, hotels, restaurants, cafeterias, lunchrooms, lunch counters, soda fountains, gasoline stations, movie houses, theatres, concert halls, sports arenas, and exhibition halls. It also prohibited states and municipalities from enforcing segregation in any type of public accommodation.[103]

With these policy shifts, the inequities in municipal services that had constrained East Austin's development were no longer legal under the Constitution and federal law. Unfortunately, changing the effects of these

longstanding policies proved slow and challenging, and remains a work in progress.

2.7.4.2. Municipal Response to Federal Desegregation Policies

Some incremental desegregation of public services occurred prior to the 1954 *Brown* decision within East Austin. For example, the George Washington Carver Public Library was desegregated in 1951, due to the efforts of Huston-Tillotson College professor Dr. William Astor Kirk (*figure I-96*).[104] Integration of local schools, though, did not begin until 1955, after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. The desegregation plan implemented in Austin began by integrating one grade level each year, beginning with the 12th grade in 1955,[105] continuing through to the fifth grade in 1962. In 1963, all remaining elementary grades were integrated, along with all other public facilities, including playgrounds and swimming pools.[106] However, the Austin Independent School District was involved in litigation regarding its desegregation process until the 1970s, as further discussed in *Section 2.8.2*.

Figure I-96. Photograph of the Carver Library at 1165 Angelina Street, constructed in 1926 and desegregated in 1951. In addition to being a notable example of the Colonial Revival architectural style popular at the time of its construction, the building is historically and culturally significant for its association with desegregation in East Austin. The building was listed in the National Register in 2005, and it also is a City of Austin local landmark.[107] Photo by HHM, 2016.

2.7.4.3. Effects on the Private Sector

With the legal imperative to desegregate public facilities after 1954, infrastructure gradually improved in East Austin. This stimulated private developers to plat residential suburbs that followed the postwar curvilinear pattern begun elsewhere in Austin (and across the United States) immediately after World War II.[108] Within the East Austin survey boundaries, Holy Cross Heights forms the most prominent example. The subdivision was platted in 1952, featuring a street layout with the cul-de-sac pattern so characteristic of postwar American suburbs.[109] Houses within the subdivision were constructed between 1956 and 1964 (*figure I-97*, to follow). (Refer to the *Survey Results* section for additional description of Holy Cross Heights.) Other similar suburbs were constructed beyond the East Austin Survey boundaries to the east and northeast at an increasing rate after 1963. As a result, many families migrated

Figure I-97. Photo showing an example of house at 2504 East 19th Street (MLK, Jr. Boulevard) in the Holy Cross Heights Subdivision, constructed in 1958 with Ranch stylistic influences. The Holy Cross Heights Subdivision meets criteria for listing as a historic district at the local level and in the National Register because of its significant association with the introduction of the postwar curvilinear suburb neighborhood typology into East Austin, and because of the typically modest Ranch stylistic influences displayed by the collection of houses. Photo by HHM, 2016.

into the newer and larger houses in these subdivisions rather than continuing the trend of constructing additions and enlarging houses in East Austin. With the resulting depopulation, a number of large-scale apartment complexes were constructed in East Austin beginning about 1963 as well—primarily along Manor Road and East 19th Street (MLK Jr. Boulevard), which were well-paved to accommodate automobile traffic. With the improvements to city infrastructure, white residents began to move into these new apartment complexes, slowly reintegrating the residential mix of the neighborhood, although single-family housing would remain occupied primarily by African American and Mexican American families for decades to come.[110]

[1] David L. Ames and Linda Flint McClelland, *National Register Bulletin: Historic Residential Suburbs* (Washington, D.C., National Park Service, 2002): part 2; from the National Park Service, accessed June 27, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/Nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part2.htm.

[2] Jackson, *East Austin: A Socio-Historical View of A Segregated Community*, 74-76. Census data presented by Jackson suggests that Census Tracts 8-10 (roughly bound by MLK, Jr. Blvd. to the north, US 183 to the east, the lake to the south, and IH 35 to the west; not exactly coinciding with the East Austin survey boundaries), provided residence for roughly 62% of Austin's Black population in 1940, 80% in 1950, 68% in 1960, and 62% in 1970.

[3] Susan Cianci Salvatore, *et al*, *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2004, revised 2009); from the National Park Service, accessed June 27, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/themes/CivilRights_DesegPublicAccom.pdf.

[4] Cherry Jane Gray, *History of the Winn Area* (n.p., n.d.); from Austin History Center, Austin Files Collection, Subdivisions – East Austin File.

[5] David G. Gutiérrez, "An Historic Overview of Latino Immigration and the Demographic Transformation of the United States," *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013); from the National Park Service, accessed June 25, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/latino/latinothemestudy/immigration.htm. As this resource states, "the number of Mexicans who legally immigrated to the U.S. increased steadily in the 1950s and 1960s, rising from just 60,000 in the decade of the 1940s to 219,000 in the 1950s and 459,000 in the 1960s." In addition, illegal immigration "rose from a negligible number in 1940, to more than 91,000 in 1946, nearly 200,000 in 1947, and to more than 500,000 by 1951."

[6] Gray; McCarver, 21.

[7] "Genero P. and Carolina Briones House," National Park Service, accessed June 22, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/hispanic/2001/briones.htm.

[8] Pacific Planning and Research, *The Austin Plan* (Austin, Texas: The Austin City Planning Commission, 1958), 7-8. According to this source, in 1950 82.2% of the residents of Travis County lived within the City of Austin, but, by 1955, 93% lived within the City; marking a rapid shift toward urbanization.

[9] Ames, *National Register Bulletin: Historic Residential Suburbs*, part 2.

[10] Jackson, *East Austin*, 142.

[11] *Bus Map of Austin Transit Corp.,* [Map N-135], [ca. 1960?], Austin History Center, Austin, Texas.

[12] Jackson, *East Austin*, 49.

[13] Ames, *National Register Bulletin: Historic Residential Suburbs*, part 2.

[14] Jackson, *East Austin*, 135.

[15] Jackson, *East Austin*, 136-139.

[16] U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Baking and Currency, *Housing Act of 1949,* 81st Congress, 1st Session, Document No. 99; from the Government Accounting Office, accessed June 22, 2016, https://bulk.resource.org/gao.gov/81-171/00002FD7.pdf.

[17] "SLUM-CLEARING PLAN WINS COUNCIL OKEH," *The Austin Statesman* May 5, 1950, p. 15; from ProQuest.

[18] "Austin To Seek US Aid for Clearance of Slums," *The Austin American Statesman*, June 17, 1956, p. B5; from ProQuest.

[19] Tex Easley, "Slum Clearance Funds Skip Texas' Big Cities," *The Austin American Statesman*, April 21, 1960, p. B8; from ProQuest, accessed June 22, 2016, http://www.proquest.com/.

[20] "Austin To Seek US Aid for Clearance of Slums," *The Austin American Statesman*, June 17, 1956, p. B5; from ProQuest.

[21] "Bustling Builders," *The Austin American Statesman*, June 10, 1956, p. B16; from ProQuest.

[22] "Austin To Seek US Aid for Clearance of Slums," *The Austin American Statesman*, June 17, 1956, p. B5; from ProQuest.

[23] "Max Anderson Remembered," University of California at Berkeley, accessed June 29, 2016, http://ced.berkeley.edu/events-media/news/max-anderson-remembered.

[24] Pacific Planning and Research, *The Austin Plan*, 23.

[25] Ibid., 31.

[26] Ibid., 34.

[27] "History," Lee Lewis Campbell Elementary, accessed June 22, 2016, http://www.thedragonleader.com/about-us.html.

[28] Future research to determine whether property taxation rose south of East 7th Street after 1958 due to *The Austin Plan* could be helpful for understanding the redevelopment patterns that continue in the area though today.

[29] Texas Historical Commission, "Details for Zavala Elementary School Historical Marker — Atlas Number 5507017292," *Texas Historic Sites Atlas*, accessed June 22, 2016, http://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5507017292.

[30] *The Tejano Walking Trail* (Austin, Texas: prepared for the City of Austin Planning and Development Review Department, 2010), 9.

[31] Additional information regarding DeWitty is available at https://austintexas.gov/sites/default/files/files/Housing/AACHF/AACHF_Portrait_Guide_FINAL__5_3_13_-reduced.pdf; *Rosewood Neighborhood Plan* (Austin, Texas: prepared for the City of Austin, 2001), 17, from the City of Austin, accessed June 25, 2016, ftp://ftp.ci.austin.tx.us/npzd/Austingo/rosewood-np.pdf.

[32] The term "Jim Crow" is typically used to refer to the system of segregation of African Americans in the Southern United States. The background and history of the term are provided in the following article: Becky Little, "Who Was Jim Crow?," *National Geographic*, accessed June 23, 2016, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2015/08/150806-voting-rights-act-anniversary-jim-crow-segregation-discrimination-racism-history/.

[33] *Rosewood Neighborhood Plan*, 15. Future research to graph and map the provision of electric, water, and sewer service to specific locations within the East Austin survey area would help aid understanding of the area's spotty and sporadic development.

[34] Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., *The Development of Highways in Texas* (Austin, Texas: prepared for the Texas Historical Commission, 2014); from the Texas Historical Commission, accessed June 29, 2916, http://www.thc.state.tx.us/public/upload/preserve/survey/highway/Section%20I.%20Statewide%20Historic%20Context.pdf.

[35] Spence, "Structuring Race in the Cultural Geography of Austin," 42. Note that this school was generally known as "the negro school" or "the colored school" until 1913, when high school grades separated out to form E. H. Anderson High School and this school became Olive Street Elementary.

[36] *Lott Park Management Statement* (Austin, Texas: City of Austin Parks and Recreation Department, n.d.), from the City of Austin, Parks and Recreation Department Files, Lott File.

[37] "Brown v. Board at Fifty: 'With an Even Hand,'" *Library of Congress*, accessed June 23, 2016, https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/brown/brown-segregation.html.

[38] A Texas Historical Commission (THC) subject marker commemorating the Site of the Old Anderson High School remains at this site today. "Anderson High School, Site of Old Kealing Jr. High," THC Historic Sites Atlas, accessed June 23, 2016, http://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5507014678.

[39] A rich photographic repository documenting Anderson High School is available online from *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting the Austin History Center, accessed June 23, 2016, https://texashistory.unt.edu/explore/partners/ASPL/browse/?fq=dc_type%3Aimage_photo.

[40] "About Kealing," Kealing Middle School, accessed June 24, 2016, http://www.kealinghornets.org/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=188905&type=d&pREC_ID=391960.

[41] "East Austin Delegation Asks for Improvements," *The Austin American Statesman*, February 8, 2007, from the Austin History Center, Austin Files Collection, File AF-1300 – African Americans.

[42] Gordon Wilkinson, Civil *Rights Demonstration in Austin* [film], 1963; from the Texas Archive of the Moving Image, accessed June 27, 2016, http://www.texasarchive.org/library/index.php?title=Civil_Rights_Demonstration_in_Austin,_1963.

[43] Kim McKnight, *Historical Background: Holly Shores* [presentation] (Austin, Texas: Austin Parks and Recreation Department, n.d.).

[44] Bernadette Mosby Cay, unpublished manuscript submitted to HHM, 2016.

[45] Alfredo E. Cardenas, "Holy Cross is a 'mother church' for black Catholics," *Catholic Spirit* (November 2005), from the Diocese of Austin, accessed June 25, 2016, http://archive.austindiocese.org/newsletter_article_view.php?id=410.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Additional information regarding Dr. Beadie Connor's work at Holy Cross Hospital is available at: https://austintexas.gov/sites/default/files/files/Housing/AACHF/AACHF_Portrait_Guide_FINAL__5_3_13_-reduced.pdf.

[48] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Austin, Texas, 1935 updated through 1962, sheet 208; from the University of Texas Libraries, Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection.

[49] Cardenas, "Holy Cross is a 'mother church' for black Catholics."

[50] Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church, "History of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church," accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.olgaustin.org/history.shtml.

[51] *Sanborn Fire Insurance* Map, Austin, Texas [map], 1962, Sheet 207; from the University of Texas Map Collection, Perry Castañeda Map Collection.

[52] Additional information regarding the many individuals who were influential in East Austin's Black churches is available at: https://austintexas.gov/sites/default/files/files/Housing/AACHF/AACHF_Portrait_Guide_FINAL__5_3_13_-reduced.pdf.

[53] Huston-Tillotson University, "HT History," accessed June 25, 2016, http://htu.edu/about/history.

[54] For additional research into the connection between Lyndon Baines Johnson and immigration policy, the Mexican-American community, or civil rights, refer to the collections of the LBJ Presidential Library at the University of Texas at Austin, Domestic Finding Aids, accessed June 21, 2016, http://www.lbjlibrary.net/collections/subject-guides/domestic.html.

[55] "All for One and One for All," League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.lulac.net/about/history/history.html#anchor192841.

[56] Louis DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice ... And Accepting Nothing Less: The Quest for Latino Political Inclusion," *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), accessed June 25, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/latino/latinothemestudy/inclusion.htm. Note that the participation of Mexican American voters within political machines holds significance in its own right, and this theme study states, "During this period, local political machines also courted Latino voters. This form of organization existed in New Mexico and South Texas; the New York Democratic machine intermittently sought the votes of Puerto Ricans in some elections and excluded them in others as late as the 1950s."

[57] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice."

[58] "All for One and One for All."

[59] Ibid. Note that a second Austinite, Frank Pinedo, also served as LULAC national president, holding office in 1954. According to City Directories, though, Pinedo neither lived nor worked in East Austin. As a lawyer, Pinedo's office was in the Littlefield Building downtown, and he later served as Assistant Attorney General. Pinedo maintained a residence in South Austin at 810 W. Anne Street, which is still extant.

[60] National Park Service, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), accessed June 25, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/latino/latinothemestudy/.

[61] *Reflections Portrait Guide* (prepared for the City of Austin, ca. 2013); from the City of Austin, accessed June 25, 2016, https://austintexas.gov/sites/default/files/files/Housing/AACHF/AACHF_Portrait_Guide_FINAL__5_3_13_-reduced.pdf.

[62] *Zoning Change Review Sheet: Volma and Warneta Overton, Sr. House* (Austin: City of Austin, 2008), accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=124418. Many other prominent leaders included within the African American Cultural Heritage Foundation's Portrait Collection lived outside the survey area's boundaries. One notable example is Volma Overton, president of the NAACP's Austin chapter, who lived at 1403 Springdale Road per City directories. The City of Austin designated the Overton House as a local landmark in 2008.

[63] According to City directories, Dr. Givens lived at 1203 Chicon Street, but his house is no longer extant.

[64] According to City directories, Willie Mae Kirk lived at 1011 Olive Street, but his house is no longer extant.

[65] According to City directories, the Obeys lived at 2301 East 12th Street (no longer extant) from 1965 to 1969 before moving to Vineland Drive in Cherrywood.

[66] City Directories list addresses for Urdy at both 1302 East 13th Street and 1157 Comal Street, neither of which remain.

[67] Johnnie M. Overton, "OVERTON, VOLMA ROBERT, SR.," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 25, 2016, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fov02.

[68] City of Austin Historic Landmark Commission, *Zoning Change Review Sheet: Volma and Warneta Overton, Sr. House* [case no. C14H-07-0036] (Austin, Texas: submitted to the City of Austin Planning Commission, December 9, 2008), accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=124418.

[69] Overton, "OVERTON, VOLMA ROBERT, SR."

[70] Note that two Masonic Lodges in East Austin—at 1017 East 11th Street and at 1704 East 12th Street—bore significant ties to the NAACP in the postwar period. Additional research is necessary to more fully understand the relationship between the Masons and the NAACP in the postwar era.

[71] *Reflections Portrait Guide.*

[72] Texas Historical Commission, "Details for Victory Grill Historical Marker — Atlas Number 5507015520," *Texas Historic Sites Atlas*, accessed July 28, 2016, http://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5507015520. Note that the Holmes children reopened the Victory Grill in 2001, after Johnny Holmes' death.

[73] The Victory Grill was listed individually in the NRHP in 2006 and listed as a City of Austin Historic Landmark in 2006: "Details for Victory Grill National Register Listing — Atlas Number 2098001226;" "City of Austin Historic Landmarks by Address," City of Austin, accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.austintexas.gov/sites/default/files/files/Planning/Historic_Preservation/Austin_Landmarks_by_Address.pdf.

[74] *Reflections Portrait Guide.*

[75] Examples of significant African Americans associated with the history of sports in Austin are included within the *Reflections Portrait Guide.*

[76] Danny Davis, "Old Anderson High's football history is as significant as it is elusive," *The Austin American Statesman*, March 29, 2012, http://www.statesman.com/news/sports/high-school/old-anderson-highs-football-history-is-as-signific/nRmZZ/

[77] Jake Pickle and Peggy Pickle, *Jake* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2010), 64.

[78] "Lalo Campos," *Voices Oral History Project: Giving Voice to the American Latino Experience*; from the University of Texas Libraries, accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/voces/template-stories-indiv.html?work_urn=urn%3Autlol%3Awwlatin.012&work_title=Campos%2C+Lalo.

[79] The significance of the trend of Spanish-language media is established by the National Park Service in: Félix F. Gutiérrez, "More Than 200 Years of Latino Media in the United States," *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), accessed June 25, 2016, from https://www.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/latino/latinothemestudy/media.htm.

[80] "Safeway to Open New Unit," *Austin American Statesman*, August 1, 1965, pg. C2; from ProQuest. Note that this location is no longer extant.

[81] "Focus Is on the Eastside," *Austin American Statesman*, May 9, 1964, p. D13, from ProQuest. This location remains extant today but is slated for demolition as part of the One Two East apartment development plan. Shonda Novak, "In East Austin, a fight over planned apartment towers," *Austin American Statesman*, December 12, 2015, http://www.mystatesman.com/news/business/in-east-austin-a-fight-over-planned-apartment-towe/npgBf/.

[82] With the focus on an auto-oriented lifestyle in the mid-1900s, many commentators (including Robena Jackson) considered the interspersed nature of commercial and residential properties to be part of the cause of lower real estate values. Today, however, with the renewed desire for walkable neighborhoods, the proximity of commercial nodes to residential areas has increased real estate values and amplified development pressures.

[83] Austin History Center, City Directories.

[84] Austin History Center, Austin Files, "Franzetti" file.

[85] According to City directories, Oliver Street lived at 1100 East 11th Street ca. 1947, but this building is no longer extant. By 1949 he moved to a new house at 306 N. Pleasant Valley Road, which remains extant today.

[86] *Reflections Portrait Guide.*

[87] C. W. McClure, *C.W. McClure, President, Capital City Lions Club to Austin Board of Realtors*, *March 18, 1981* [letter], from the Austin History Center, reproduced by the City of Austin. Available from: ftp://ftp.austintexas.gov/PARDPlanningCIP/McKnight_HistoricResources/East_Austin_PARD_resources/Oliver%20Street.pdf.

[88] *Reflections Portrait Guide.*

[89] Texas Historical Commission, "Details for King-Tears Mortuary Historical Marker — Atlas Number 5453012826," 2002, from the *Texas Historical Commission Historic Sites Atlas*, accessed June 25, 2016, http://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5453012826.

[90] Robert J. Duncan, "King, John Quill Taylor, Sr.," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 25, 2016, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fki77.

[91] Geraldo L. Cadava, "Entrepreneurs from the Beginning: Latino Business & Commerce since the 16th Century," *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013); from the National Park Service, accessed June 25, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/latino/latinothemestudy/businesscommerce.htm

[92] "Entertainment: Children, Tortilla Tour," *The Texas Sun* [Buda, Texas], December 5, 1974, from *Discover America's Story*, accessed June 25, 2016, http://txs.stparchive.com/Archive/TXS/TXS12051974p15.php. The tortilla factory is also shown in this location on Sanborn maps updated through 1962, on sheet 212.

[93] "Thomas Galindo" *Voices Oral History Project*, accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/voces/template-stories-indiv.html?work_urn=urn%3Autlol%3Awwlatin.135&work_title=Galindo%2C+Thomas; *Que Vivan los 25! Banner Exhibit Honoring Austin's Eminent Mexican Americans* [Exhibit Program], September 17-October 15, 2006, from the Austin History Center, Austin Files Collection, AF-M4300—Mexican Americans.

[94] Laresh Krishna Jayasanker, *Sameness in Diversity: Food Culture and Globalization in the San Francisco Bay Area and America, 1965—2005* (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 2008), 132.

[95] Richard Zelade, "Masa Marketing," *Texas Monthly* (May 1989): 134. This resource also notes that the El Lago tortilla company also was run by a Galindo son ca. 1989. Another Galindo son founded Ace Tailors. Juan Castillo, "Magic man still full of tricks," *The Eagle* [Bryan-College Station, Texas], March 13, 2012, http://www.theeagle.com/news/texas/magic-man-still-full-of-tricks/article_2b2fca56-4a9a-5e0d-b441-f4c79ec09122.html.

[96] The house at 809 Willow Street is no longer extant and likely was demolished as part of the construction of IH 35.

[97] Although this house remains intact today, it appears that the City may have approved a demolition permit application ca. September 2015 based upon: City of Austin, Historic Landmark Commission, September 25, 2015, Demolition and Relocation Permits, HDP-2015-0876, 2823 Manor Road, accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=239628.

[98] Susan Cianci Salvatore, *et al*, *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States Theme Study* (Washington, D.C., National Park Service, 2000): 67. Available from https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/themes/CivilRights_DesegPublicEd.pdf

[99] Ames, *National Register Bulletin: Historic Residential Suburbs*, part 2.

[100] Texas Historical Commission, "Details for Dr. Lewis and Carolyn Mitchell Historical Marker — Atlas Number 5507016691," 2010, from the *Texas Historic Sites Atlas*, accessed June 25, 2016, http://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5507016691.

[101] Salvatore, *Racial Desegregation*, 68-69.

[102] V. Carl Allsup, "HERNANDEZ V. DRISCOLL CISD," *The Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed June 25, 2016, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/jrh02.

[103] Salvatore, *Racial Desegregation*, 78-79.

[104] Chantal McKenzie, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form: George Washington Carver Library, Austin, Travis County, Texas* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2005) 8-8, from the Texas Historical Commission, 2016. Available from https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/NatReg/NR/nr_listed/pdfs/05000241/05000241.pdf. According to City directories, Dr. Kirk and his wife Vivian resided at 1189 Graham Street, just outside of the East Austin Survey boundaries; the house is no longer extant today.

[105] Jackson, *East Austin*, 93-94.

[106] "Desegregation in Austin," Austin History Center, accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.austinlibrary.com/ahc/desegregation/index.cfm?action=decade&dc=1960s.

[107] McKenzie, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form: George Washington Carver Library.*

[108] Ames, *National Register Bulletin: Historic Residential Suburbs*, part 2.

[109] *Holy Cross Heights* [plat map] (Austin, Texas: City Plan Commission, 1956), from the Travis County Clerk, Austin, Texas, vol. 8, p. 27.

[110] McCarver, *The Blackland Miracle*, 21.

2.8. Interstate 35 and the Creation of "East Austin," 1962–1980

From 1962 to 1980, East Austin saw major and large-scale changes that improved some areas—especially where it concerned city- or statewide infrastructural needs regarding transportation, energy and education—but continued to stifle many others, especially those that directly affected the local African American and Hispanic populations. These changes, in combination with the national trend of urban decentralization and suburbanization, led to a population reduction in East Austin, including many business closures and building demolitions. The resulting demographic continued the segregation seen in East Austin in previous eras, with the number of white residents in East Austin continuing to decline, African Americans living almost exclusively north of East 11th Street, a combination of African Americans and Mexican Americans living between East 7th and East 11th Streets, and an increasingly Mexican American population south of East 7th Street (*figures I-98* and *I-99* on the following pages). Building construction generally slowed, compared to the immediate postwar period, with residential construction constituting the district's primary character (*Table I-9*, to follow). However, the era's civil rights movements brought changes to many public services and institutions, especially schools and libraries, and also fostered a greater sense of self-awareness among residents who organized, asserted their rights, and celebrated their underrepresented local history through the re-signification of public spaces and buildings.

2.8.1. EFFECTS OF IH 35, 1962–1980

In 1956, the federal government passed the Federal Aid Highway Act, which authorized the construction and consolidation of the Interstate Highway System under a single national numbering scheme. In Texas, the new interstate system by the 1970s amassed the many completed interregional highways built after World War II, expanding some and adding design improvements.[1]

In Austin, initial efforts completed in the early 1950s first altered East Avenue's original design by introducing a controlled-access expressway and underpasses at major intersections along what was U.S. Highway (US) 81, known locally as the Interregional Highway, to improve traffic flow through town. A second major alteration to the thoroughfare occurred between 1959 and 1962 as part of the Interstate Highway System, which widened the newly designated Interstate Highway (IH) 35 towards the east and added raised segments using sloped retaining walls and concrete overpasses (*Figure I-100*).[2] Due to East Avenue's wide medians, the earlier underpass designs for the Interregional Highway were able to accommodate roadway improvements without needing to obtain much adjoining private land. However, the later widening of IH 35 expanded the roadway to the east, taking at least the lots directly facing onto East Avenue, and in some places more. Between East 1st (Cesar Chavez) Street and the bridge over the Colorado River, the expansion

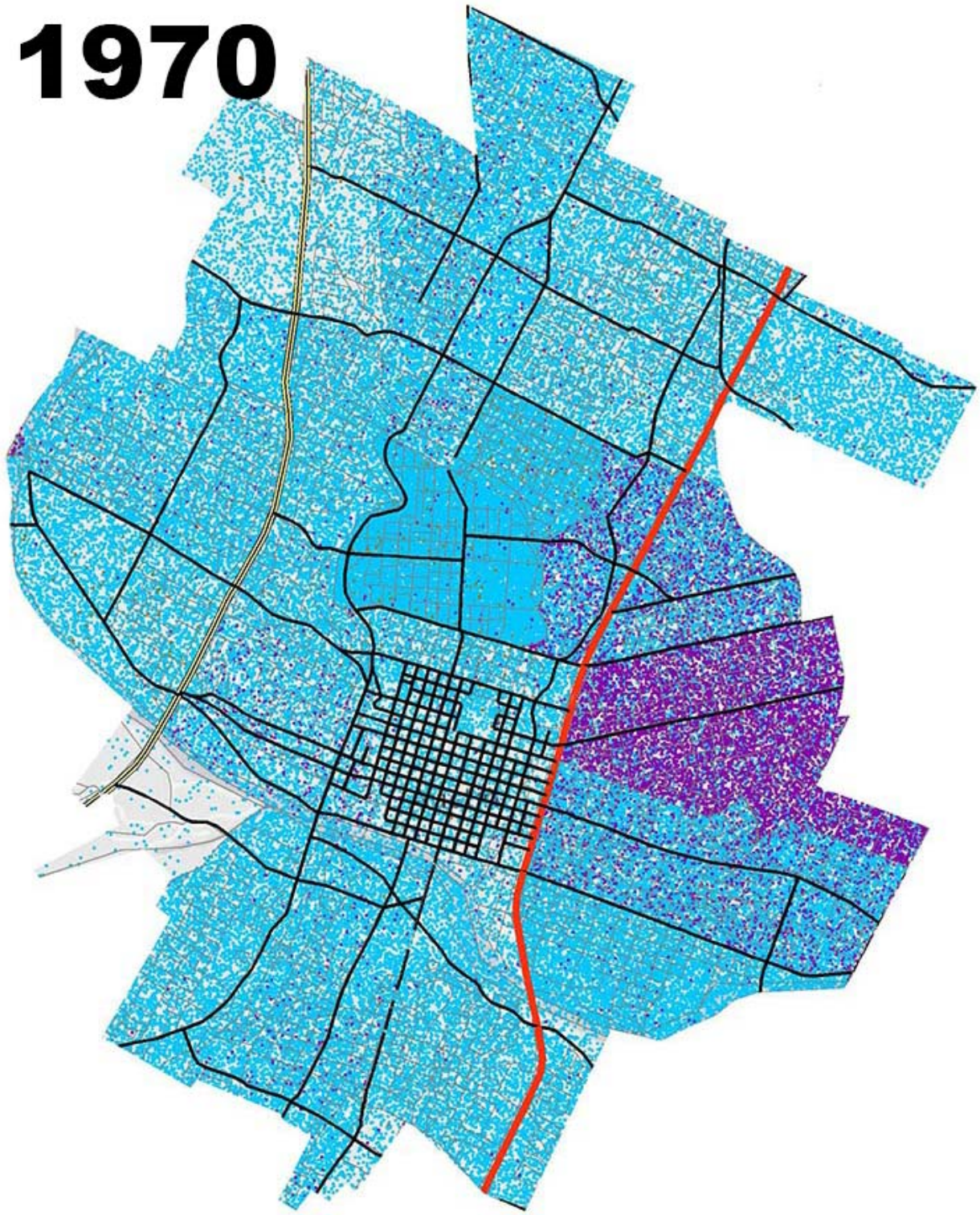


Figure-I-98. Map showing population distribution in 1960, with blue representing the white population and purple representing "Black." Note that Hispanic populations are not differentiated. The red line represents East Avenue/IH 35. Source: Dan Zehr, "Inheriting inequality," *Austin American Statesman*, accessed June 22, 2016, http://projects.statesman.com/news/economic-mobility/; citing "Austin Restricted" (Tretter, 2012) from U.S. Census data.

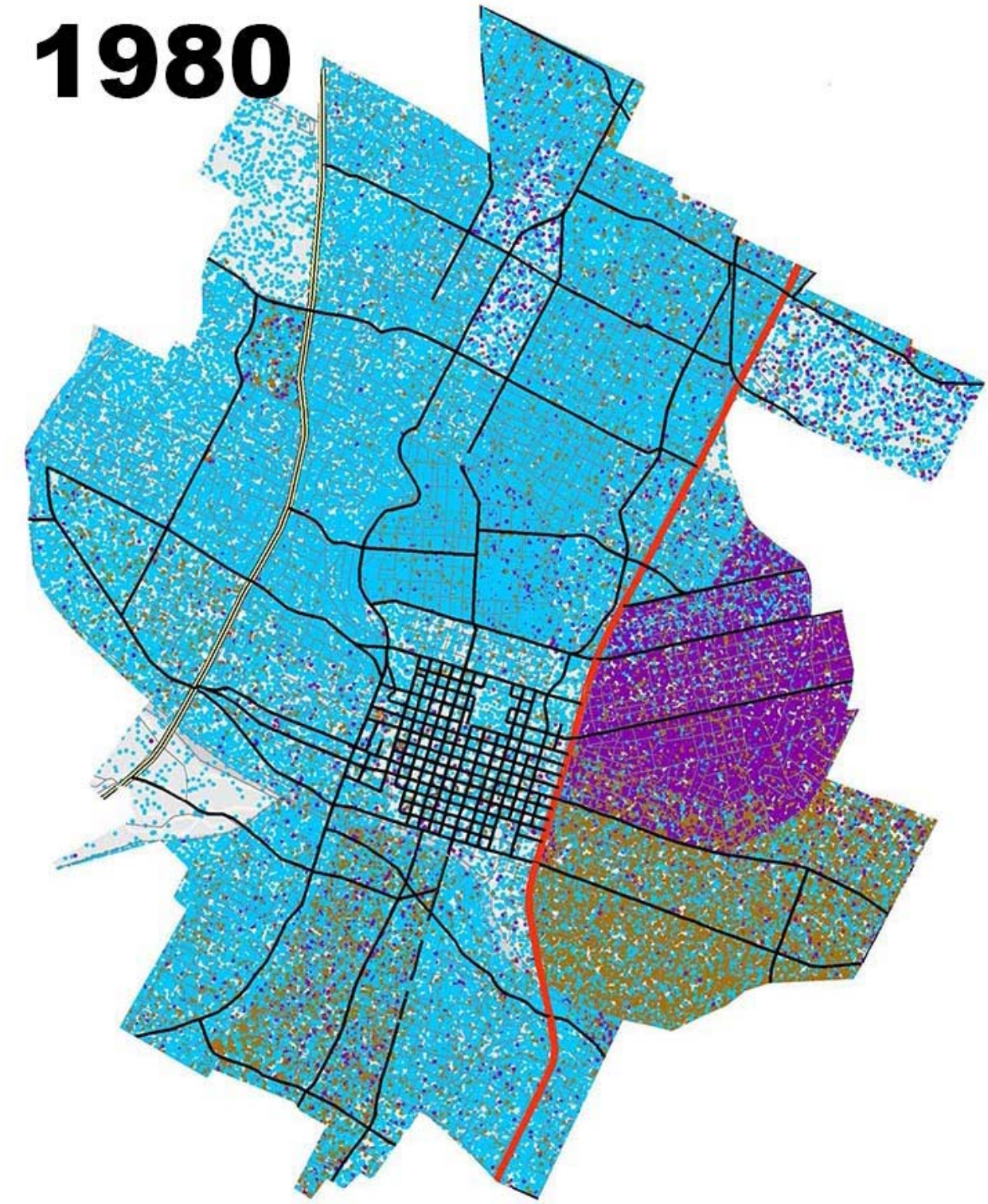
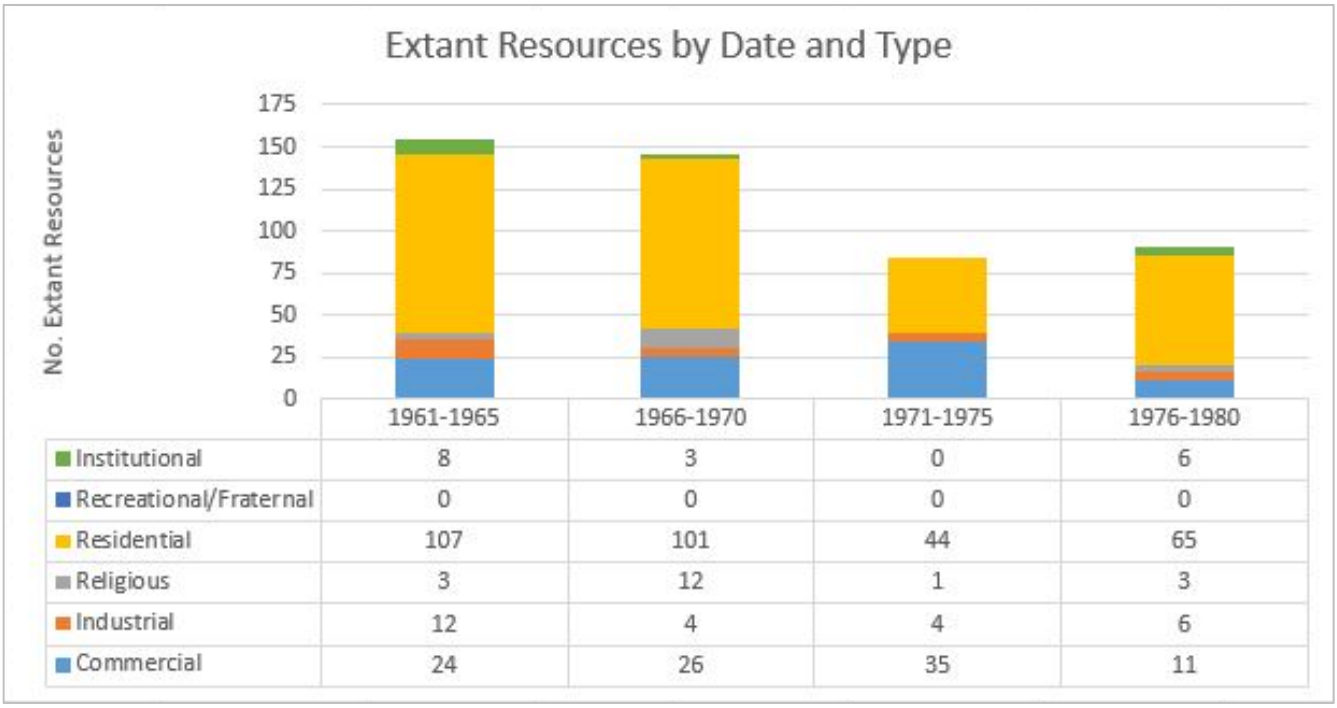


Figure I-99. Map showing population distribution in 1960, with blue representing the white population, purple representing "Black," and brown representing "Hispanic/Other." Note that, for the first time, non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics are differentiated in the U.S. Census data used to populate the map. The red line represents East Avenue/IH 35. Source: Dan Zehr, "Inheriting inequality," *Austin American Statesman*, accessed June 22, 2016, http://projects.statesman.com/news/economic-mobility/; citing "Austin Restricted" (Tretter, 2012) from U.S. Census data.

Table I-9. Depiction of trends in the construction dates of extant resources within the East Austin Historic Resources Survey boundaries. As the graph indicates, construction generally slowed during this period, compared to the immediate postwar period, with residential construction constituting the district's primary character. Note that this data does not account for resources constructed during these time frames but later demolished. Source: HHM survey data, 2016.



	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980
Institutional	8	3	0	6
Recreational/Fraternal	0	0	0	0
Residential	107	101	44	65
Religious	3	12	1	3
Industrial	12	4	4	6
Commercial	24	26	35	11

Figure I-100. Photograph of the construction of the elevated portions of IH 35 over 6th and 7th Streets in 1960. Source: Texas Department of Transportation Photo Library.

removed a half-block of Willow, Spence, and Taylor Streets, a whole block of Holly and Lambie Streets, and nearly two blocks of Clermont and Flores Streets (*figure I-101* to follow). Together, these changes created a physical barrier that limited vehicular and pedestrian access across the highway to overpasses

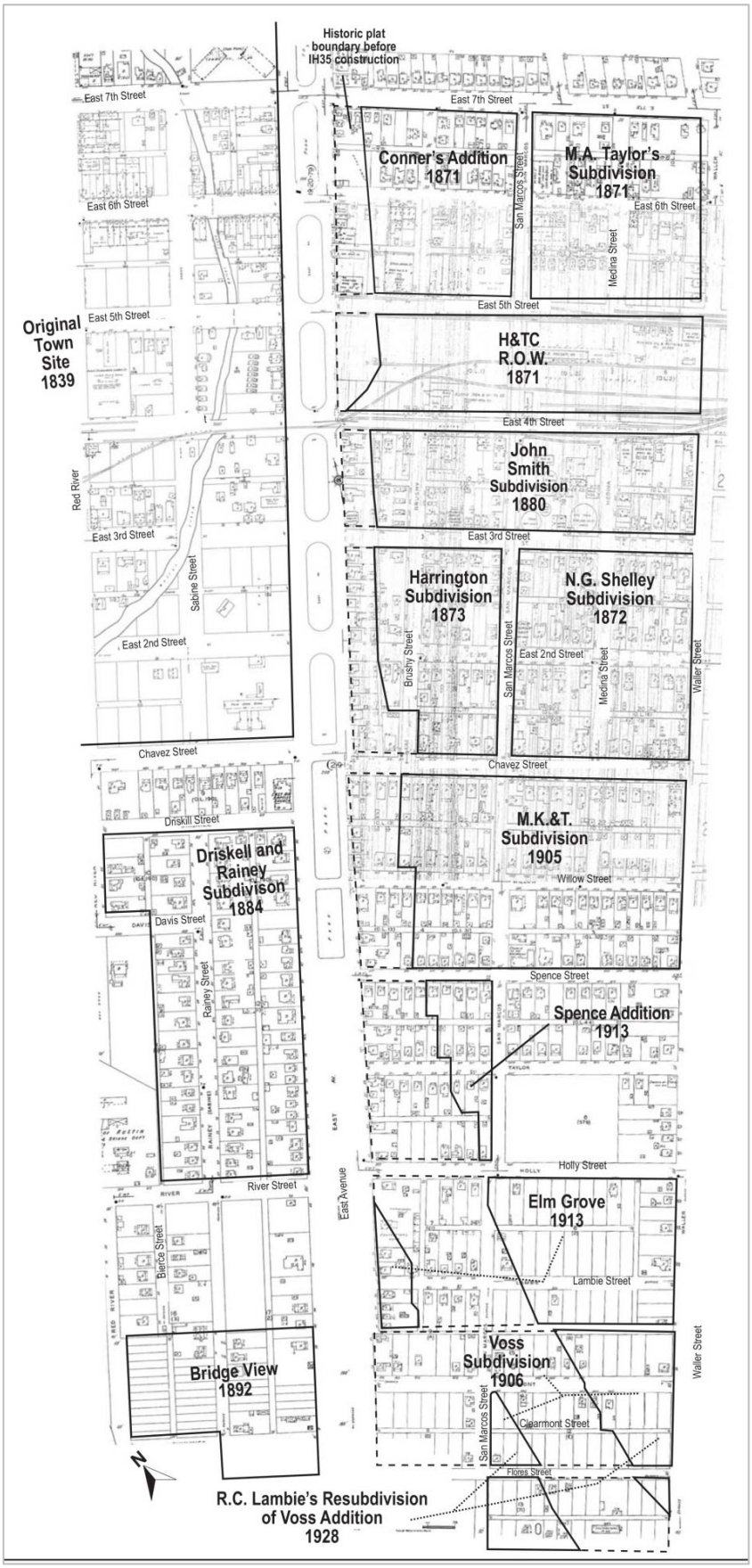


Figure I-101. Composite of Sanborn Map Company insurance maps of Austin, 1935, showing Segment 1 (the study area) with overlay of current plat boundaries. From Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., *Interstate Highway 35 Corridor Austin, Travis County, Texas, Historic Resources Investigations*, prepared for the Texas Department of Transportation, Austin, Texas, 2004.

and underpasses at major east–west corridors, as well as demolished residences, businesses, and other buildings once facing East Avenue's east side.[3]

Altogether, East Avenue's transformation into IH 35 reinforced the segregated division between the largely white population of Central and West Austin and the largely Black and Hispanic population in East Austin south of Manor Road. The eradication of East Avenue severed connections to neighborhoods and institutions that connected Austin's east side to downtown, including the Rainey Street neighborhood, Palm School, 6th Street, and the Waller Creek/Red River area. The intrusion of IH 35 led to the eventual demolition of Samuel Huston College, Winn School, East Avenue Park, and numerous other homes and businesses that once lined East Avenue.

In place of residential and small-scale commercial block buildings that supported the surrounding neighborhoods, IH 35 encouraged larger-scale highway-oriented development that served regional travelers and suburban residents, including commercial strips, motels, restaurants, gas stations, tourist attractions, and office buildings. Extant examples include a Safeway grocery store at 1109 North IH 35 (built 1965, currently unoccupied), the Roadway Inn and Pitt Grill at 900 East 12th Street (built 1966, currently a Super 8 motel, see *figure I-102* below), a Shell gas station at 816 East 6th Street (built 1963, currently a Chevron station), Fiesta Gardens (described more below), and a large office building at 55 North IH 35 (built 1971).[4]

Figure I-102. Postcard illustrating the 1966 Roadway Inn Motel and Pitt Grill restaurant. Source: Flickr, www.flickr.com/photos/hollywoodplace/5042635846.

Throughout the survey area from 1962 to 1980, small commercial blocks and box-type buildings—often housing local Hispanic- and African American-owned businesses—grew at lower rates than in earlier decades, while other larger-scale corporate-owned office buildings, commercial strips, and regionally oriented businesses such as motels and highway gas stations grew at faster rates. These newer building types typically occupied sites along major commercial corridors such as IH 35, East 1st (Cesar Chavez), East 7th, and East 19th Street (MLK, Jr. Boulevard; see *figure I-103*). To a lesser extent, new small businesses emerged in historically neighborhood-oriented commercial areas such as East 6th, East 11th, and East 12th Streets (*figure I-104*).

Figure I-104. (Left) Photograph of Marshall's Barber Shop at 1915 East 12th Street, which exemplifies the continuing—but slowing—trend of small-scale commerce in neighborhood nodes in East Austin. The building meets the criteria for listing as a local landmark both for its Modern architectural form and style and for its historical associations with Marshall's Barber Shop, an important institution to Black commerce and culture in East Austin. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

Figure I-103. (Right) Map depicting the spatial distribution of extant commercial and industrial resources in East Austin constructed from 1962 to 1980, shown in green. The multicolored patchwork represents subdivisions. Map by HHM, using Google base map, 2016.

Additionally during this time, industrial facilities and warehouses continued to appear at similar rates to the previous two decades, mostly sited along the railroad corridor between East 3rd and East 6th Streets.

2.8.2. THE "END" OF SEGREGATION

After decades of fighting the governmental policies and laws that supported racial segregation, the Civil Rights Movement achieved a number of victories in the 1950s and 1960s with Supreme Court rulings and congressional acts that outlawed segregation in all facets of society. However, many states, especially those in the South, purposely delayed acting on these new laws well into the 1970s. In Texas, Governor Allan Shivers fought integration throughout his time in office (1949–1957), including the famous unsuccessful desegregation attempt at Mansfield High School in Mansfield, Texas in 1956 (an incident that later led to the successful forced desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas a year later).[5] After the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the federal government increased pressure on local school districts to enact legitimate and lasting integration policies, but it took further Congressional acts and Supreme Court rulings to force local governments to comply fully.[6]

Similarly, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was slow to take effect in Austin. The Austin Independent School District (AISD) did not implement substantial integration policies that complied with federal requirements until 1971, when it closed Anderson High School (although a new school by that name was opened in Northwest Austin two years later), Kealing Junior High School, and St. John's Elementary School, Austin's segregation-era schools for Black students.[7] While leading to more legitimate desegregation, the decision to close these schools instead of others outside of East Austin had a detrimental effect on the area. The original Anderson High School in particular was an important community hub and a source of pride and identity among many residents.[8]

While the City closed many schools, some newer facilities later opened as part of integration plans involving East Austin's Hispanic population. Martin Junior High School (now Martin Middle School, see *figure I-105*, to follow) on Haskell Street opened in 1967 to replace University Junior High School (now the School of Social Work on the University of Texas campus).[9] Sanchez Elementary School on San Marcos Street opened in 1976 to replace the old Palm School on East 1st (Cesar Chavez) Street as part of desegregation negotiations in federal court between AISD, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Mexican-American Legal Defense Education Fund in 1974 and 1975.[10]

Despite the efforts to integrate public services and accommodations as well as the passing of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which outlawed housing discrimination, the persistence of residential segregation remained largely unchanged in East Austin by 1970.[11]

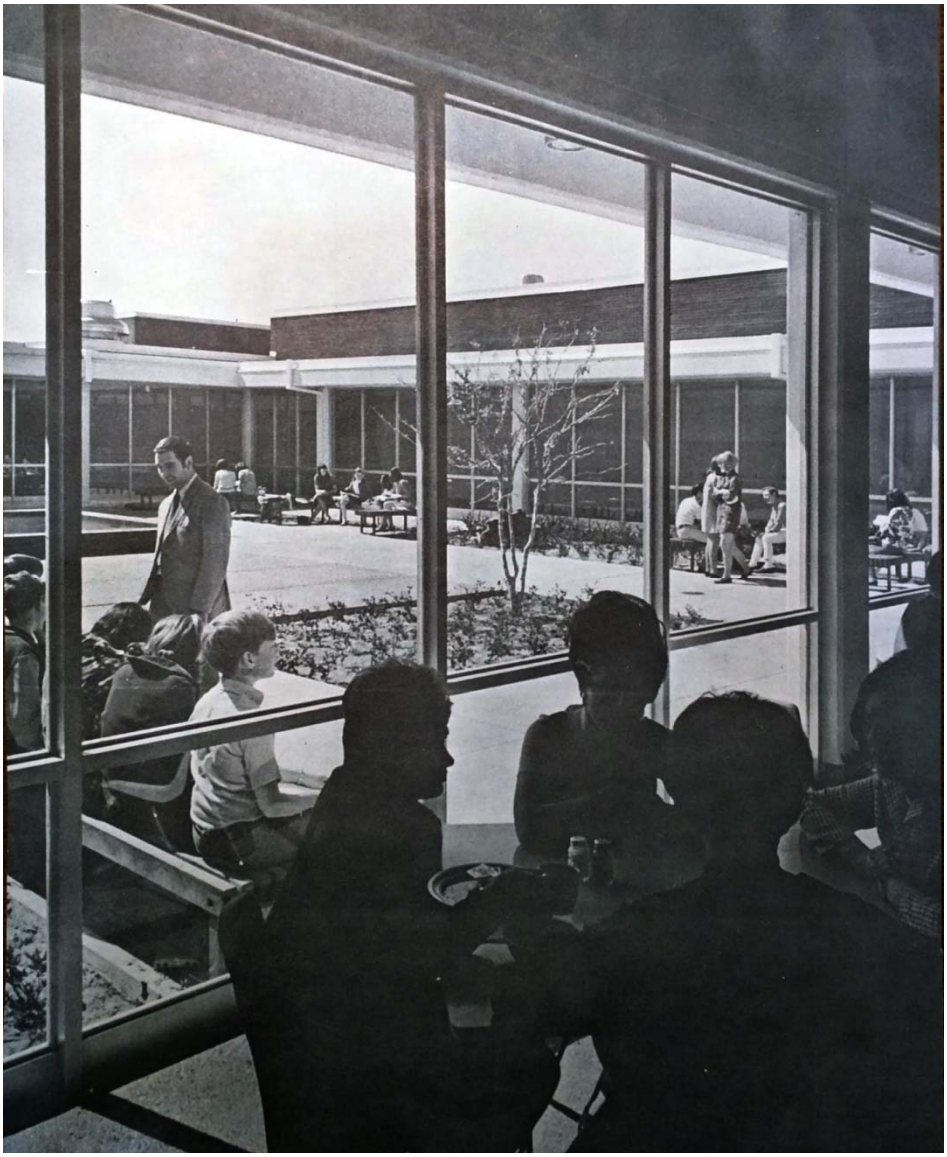


Figure I-105. Photograph of the open court at Sam L. Martin Junior High School designed by architects Barnes, Landes, Goodman & Youngblood. Source: *Texas Architect*, May 1969.

2.8.3. URBAN RENEWAL

For decades after World War II, urban centers throughout Texas and the rest of the country witnessed a large-scale depopulation of older neighborhoods and migration into new suburban housing developments. This population shift encouraged greater decentralization of retail and white collar jobs and triggered the construction of shopping malls and corporate office parks located outside of historic city centers. This trend, fostered by the Interstate Highway System's construction, a population and housing boom, and tax policies, progressed further under local urban renewal policies funded by the federal government through the 1949 Housing Act and the 1954 Urban Renewal Act. These programs encouraged cities across the country to use power of eminent domain to condemn, purchase, and demolish buildings on large swaths of land in low-income neighborhoods, usually the homes and businesses of largely disenfranchised and underrepresented African American and Mexican American residents.

2.8.3.1. City of Austin Urban Renewal Agency

In Austin, urban depopulation continued through the 1960s and into the 1970s.[12] During this time, the City of Austin Urban Renewal Agency first met in 1962 to identify neighborhoods in East Austin that qualified as "blighted" under federal guidelines for the goal of demolishing homes and giving the land over to other uses, such as public parks, public housing, or schools. Their first projects, discussed in greater detail below, were the Kealing Urban Renewal Project initiated in June 1964, the Glen Oaks project in June 1967, the Brackenridge project in November 1968, the University East project in November 1968, and the Blackshear project in 1969, the last of which did not accomplish much due to intense resident opposition (*figure I-106* below).[13] During this period, these programs contributed to a 10 percent loss of total housing stock and an 18 percent population decline in East Austin.[14] These policies' effects forced many businesses along the neighborhood's commercial corridors on East 12th, 11th, 7th, 6th, and 1st (East Cesar Chavez) Streets—commercial, social, and entertainment enterprises that supported these area's communities—to close.[15] By the end of the 1970s, once prosperous commercial areas, such as East 12th and East 11th Streets, were profiled in newspaper articles as dangerous and derelict.[16]

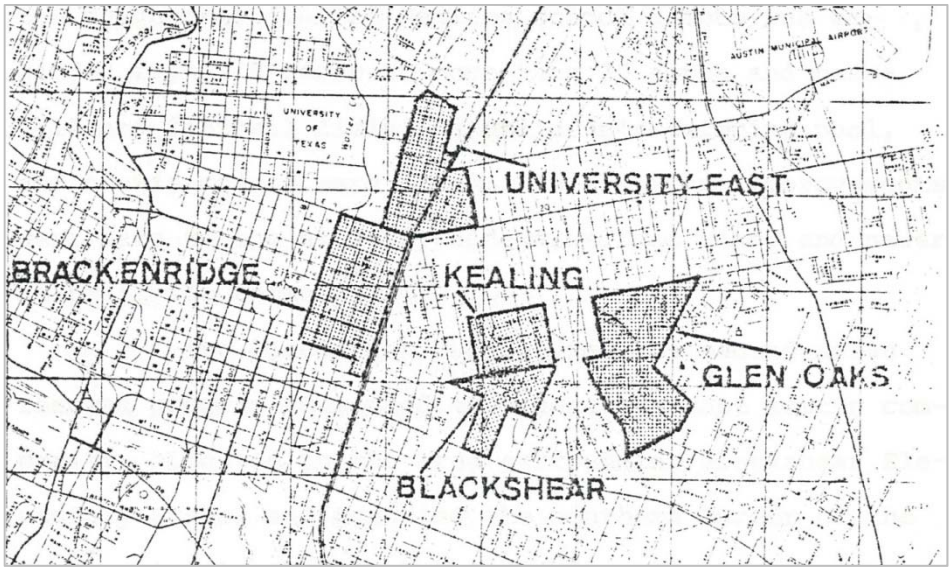


Figure I-106. Detail of 1973 map showing urban renewal projects undertaken by the Urban Renewal Agency of the City of Austin. Source: Robena Estelle Jackson, "East Austin: A Socio-Historical View of a Segregated Community" (master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1979), 114.

2.8.3.1.1. KEALING URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT, 1964

The Kealing Project targeted the neighborhood surrounding what was then Kealing Junior High School (today Kealing Middle School, 1607 Pennsylvania Avenue), bound by Angelina, Chicon, and East 12th Streets and Rosewood Avenue (*figure I-107*, to follow). By 1970, the city cleared several blocks of residences south of the school to expand the campus, and constructed 52 new single-family residences in place of the older houses. The city also rehabilitated 42 other houses, constructed two public housing complexes (the Marshall Apartments, 1157 Salina Street and 1401 East 12th Street), and rerouted Comal Street.[17]

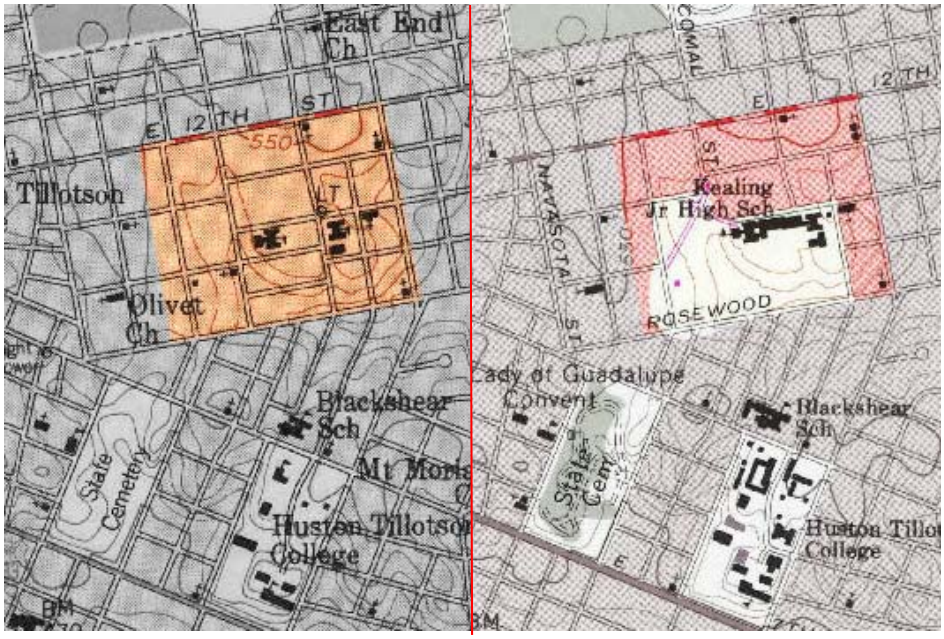


Figure I-107. Detail of 1955 USGS map (left) compared to the 1973 USGS map (right) of the Kealing Urban Renewal area, showing the reconfiguration of streets and the clearing of homes. In the 1955 map, the orange coloring represents dense housing throughout the area; only select buildings such as schools and churches are illustrated in black. In the 1973 map, the red coloring similarly represents dense housing. Note the areas in white where roads and housing have been cleared. New roads in this map are represented in pink.

2.8.3.1.2. GLEN OAKS RENEWAL PROJECT, 1967

The Glen Oaks Project's boundaries were 12th Street to the north, Hargrave and Neal Streets to the east, Webberville Road to the south, and Northwestern and Chestnut Avenues to the west (*figure I-108* below). This project demolished 360 houses and 20 businesses, largely on properties adjoining Boggy Creek, and extended Pleasant Valley from Webberville Road to East 12th Street with a bridge over the railroad tracks. Several single-family neighborhoods (including and the Mt. Carmel low-income apartment complex at 2504 New York Avenue; see *figure I-109*, to follow) were later constructed in this area. Today, the Boggy Creek Greenbelt occupies much of this land.[18]

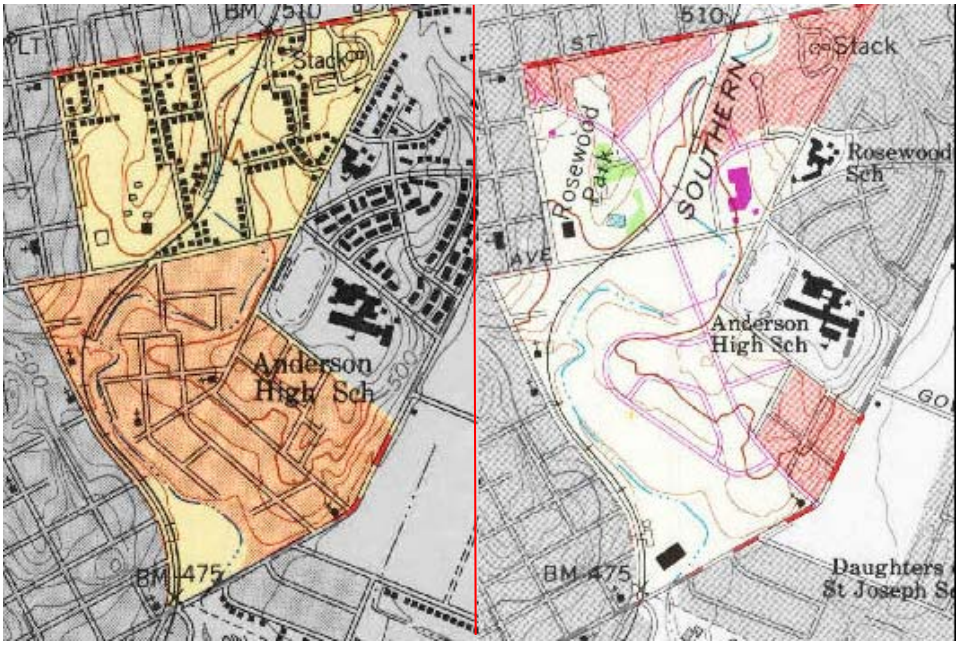
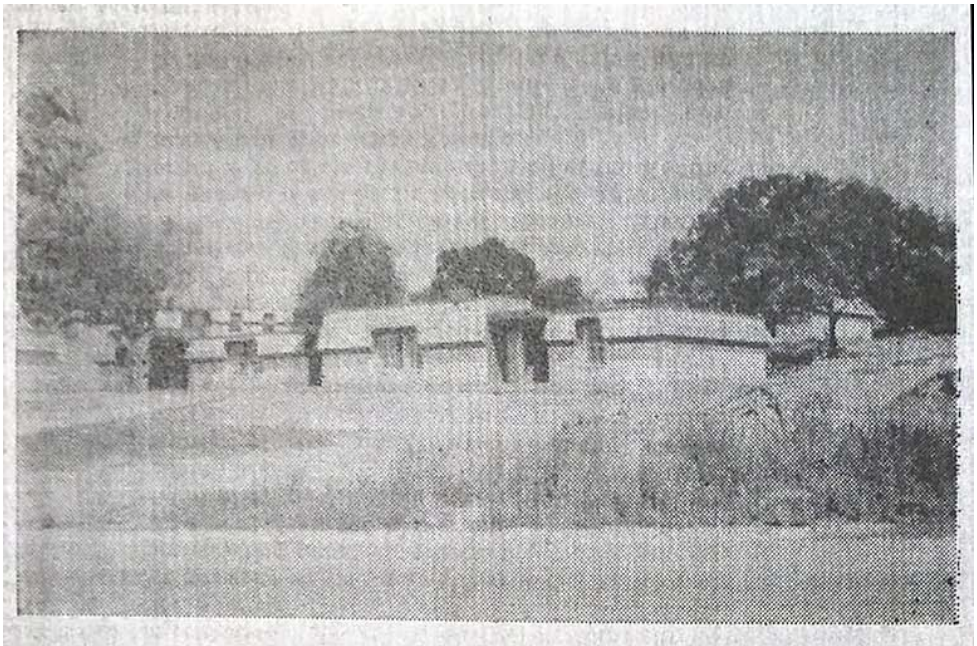


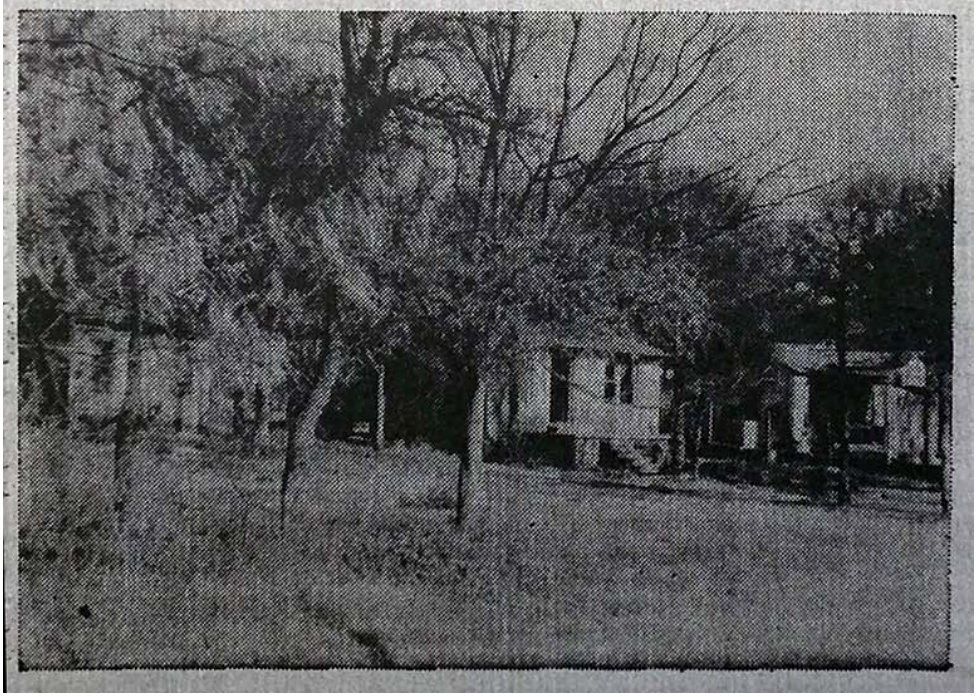
Figure I-108. Detail of 1955 USGS map (left) compared to the 1973 USGS map (right) of the Glen Oaks Urban Renewal area, showing the reconfiguration of streets and the clearing of homes. In the 1955 map, the orange coloring represents dense housing throughout the area with select buildings such as schools and churches illustrated in black, while the yellow areas show all buildings in black. In the 1973 map, only the red coloring represents dense housing. Note the areas in white where roads and housing have been cleared. New roads and buildings in this map are represented in pink.

Figure I-109. Newspaper clipping showing before and after views of the Glen Oaks Urban Renewal area, featuring the Mt. Carmel apartments. Source: unknown newspaper, August 27, 1972, AF-U5000 Urban Renewal File, from the Austin History Center.



Mt. Carmel: Before, After

Mt. Carmel Village, pictured above, has replaced a number of dilapidated dwelling units and scattered commercial sites, shown below, in the Glen Oaks project, where the New Pleasant Valley Road runs into Twelfth Street. The one-hundred units were designed by architect Earl Nesbit and will soon be ready for occupancy under an FHA rent supplement program. The program provides rent supplement housing with the federal government paying up to 70% of the tenant's rent. Families are selected for the program on the basis of need. Rental will be handled by W. G. Hunt.



2.8.3.1.3. UNIVERSITY EAST RENEWAL PROJECT, 1968

The University East Project planned an expansion of the University of Texas (UT) campus eastward by 140 acres and extended over an area bound by Red River Street, East 19th (Martin Luther King, Jr.) Street, Manor Road, and Chestnut Avenue; though the City was only able to condemn and acquire property as far west as Comal Street because of the insufficient number of houses that qualified as "dilapidated."[19] Numerous other blocks of homes and businesses were demolished for what is now UT's Disch-Falk Field and its parking lot, and a few other University facilities. In resistance to plans for the University of Texas to expand further east, East Austin residents, largely African-American, formed the Blackland Community Development Corporation in the early 1980s to help build and restore low-income housing in the area.[20]

2.8.3.2. Other Housing Projects in East Austin

2.8.3.2.1. AUSTIN OAKS HOUSING PROJECT

In 1968, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), in collaboration with the University of Texas, sponsored the design and construction of a 10-unit experimental housing project called Austin Oaks, built at 1500–1510 Robert Weaver Avenue at Comal Street (*figure I-110*). The project sought to design racially integrated, low-income housing using modern building construction materials and technologies such as prefabrication. The project was supported by President Lyndon B. Johnson, who spoke at the project's dedication ceremony in December 1968.[21]

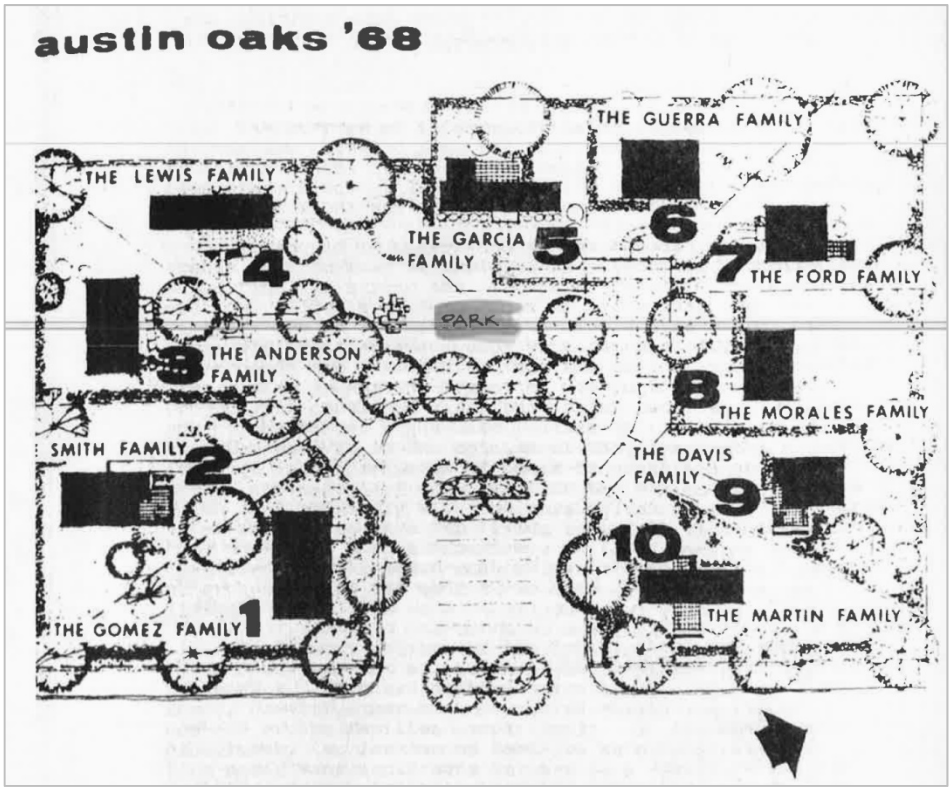


Figure I-110. Original 1968 site plan for Austin Oaks, showing placement of houses, a central park and parking lot, and the names of the families selected to initially live in the homes. Source: Email from Mike Schofield, dated February 3, 2016.

Other federally sponsored projects were undertaken in East Austin during the 1970s. In 1972, for example, President Johnson and University of Texas Regent

Frank C. Erwin, Jr., led the effort to construct the Rebekah Baines Johnson Center (21 Waller Street), an affordable housing apartment building for seniors. In 1965, the city built additional units at 1143 Salina Street, adjacent to the 1939 Rosewood Courts public housing complex. In 1973, the city passed a $12 million program to pave 23 miles of city streets, add sidewalks, and improve infrastructure in East Austin.[22]

2.8.4. CONTESTED SPACES/PUBLIC SPACES

Through the 1960s and 1970s, the city improved a number of public spaces and sponsored several events on Austin's east side. However, many of these activities were planned without residents' involvement, resulting in intrusive disruptions in the neighborhoods and debates about these projects' intended audience billed as "improvements."

2.8.4.1. Town Lake

The Holly Street Power Plant was constructed in 1958, immediately adjacent to the residential neighborhoods south of East Cesar Chavez Street. To maintain a steady source of water for the plant's operation, Longhorn Dam was constructed in 1960 just east of the plant, creating Town Lake (now Lady Bird Lake). In 1968, the City of Austin subsequently approved a master plan, initially developed in 1963 by architect Alan Taniguchi, planner Sam Zisman, and landscape architect Stewart King for park land surrounding the new lake.[23] One of the first improvements the city made to the park was constructing a Fire Marshal's Office in 1965 between Comal and Chicon Streets (currently at 1621 Nash Hernandez Senior Road).

2.8.4.2. Fiesta Gardens

After the construction of Longhorn Dam, the City of Austin flooded an abandoned gravel pit at the end of Chicon Street to create a lagoon next to the Holly Street Power Plant. In 1963, before the comprehensive plan for the lake was finalized, a private investment group acquired a lease from the city to develop the area around the lagoon into an amusement park, similar to Cypress Gardens in Florida. The project, called Fiesta Gardens (2101 Jesse E. Segovia Street), opened in May 1966 and featured daily water skiing shows, tropical plants, and a "Mexican Market."[24] Soon after the park opened, the *Austin American Statesman* published an article stating that the "only way to get there now is over a dirt trail on the sanctified Sand Beach Reserve or through a rundown neighborhood off East 1st."[25] In other words, when Fiesta Gardens opened, it catered to interstate highway travelers and residents outside of Austin's east side. In December 1967, the city, under a new city council, purchased the Fiesta Gardens facilities in order to return the park back to public ownership, and reopened the facility in April 1968 (*figure I-111*, to follow).[26] In 1974, the City of Austin attempted to purchase a number of properties surrounding Fiesta Gardens to expand the park, but the neighborhood's Hispanic residents organized as the East Town Lake Citizens and, led by Jesse Segovia, successfully resisted. Today, the then-condemned Bergman Street has been renamed in his honor as Jesse E. Segovia Street.[27]

Figure I-111. Photograph of Fiesta Gardens at its opening as a publicly-owned facility in 1968. Source: Austin History Center.

2.8.4.3. Austin Aqua Festival

Alongside the development of Fiesta Gardens, the Austin Aqua Festival, a 10-day yearly festival of water sports and parades, began its annual celebration at Festival Beach on Town Lake in August 1962. As the festival grew each year, and especially after the introduction of speedboat racing, the neighboring Hispanic community began to organize against the festival's intrusion, noise, and disruptive qualities. In the 1970s, numerous neighborhood organizations and community activists, including the Brown Berets and El Centro Chicano, took their protests against the Aqua Festival to Austin City Council, eventually convincing council members to move the festival further west to Auditorium Shores by the end of the 1970s.[28] Similar community activism also led eventually to the closing of the Holly Power Plant in 2007.[29]

2.8.4.4. Public Spaces

The 1970s also saw numerous efforts to acknowledge and celebrate the city's African American history in public spaces. In 1973, the City of Austin relocated and reassembled the log cabin of Henry Green Madison, the city's first Black alderman in 1871, from its original site on East 11th Street to Rosewood Park in dedication to the city's Black history.[30] Similarly, in 1975, the Austin Black Assembly successfully fought to rename 19th Street as Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard as part of a national movement to commemorate King.[31] In 1979, the city constructed a new library next to the 1933 George Washington Carver Branch Library building and converted the old library into a museum and cultural center promoting African American history.[32]

Other improvements to public spaces during this time included the establishment of Alamo Park in 1974 to replace East Avenue Park, which was demolished during the expansion of IH 35 and the University of Texas' acquisition of the area.[33] In 1975, the city opened the Terrazas Branch Library on East Cesar Chavez Street (then Water Street).[34]

[1] Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., *The Meridian Highway in Texas*, prepared for the Texas Historical Commission, Austin, Texas, 2016.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Susan Cianci Salvatore, et al., *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States, Theme Study*, prepared for the National Park Service, 2000.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Anna Victoria Wilson, "Forgotten Voices: Remembered Experiences of Cross-Over Teachers During Desegregation in Austin, Texas, 1964-1971," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1997); Jeremiah Spence et al., "Structuring Race in the Cultural Geography of Austin," in *Inequity in the Technopolis: Race, Class, Gender, and the Digital Divide in Austin,* ed. Joseph Straubhaar et al. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2012), 51-55; "Desegregation in Austin," *The Austin American-Statesman*, August 17, 1975.

[8] Spence, 54.

[9] Roberts, Stan. "Junior high led Austin desegregation," *The American-Statesman*, July 17, 2010.

[10] "Desegregation in Austin," *The American-Statesman*, August 17, 1975.

[11] Spence, 47.

[12] Patricia Yznaga, "East Austin: Let Me Show You the Streets," *Daily Texan*, November 21, 1979.

[13] Austin Urban Renewal Agency Board of Commissioners Records, Austin History Center, Austin, Texas; James William McCarver, "The Blackland Miracle: An Analysis of the Development of Power in an East Austin Neighborhood from 1982 to 1994," (PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1995), 24.

[14] Kathy Mitchell, "There goes the neighborhood," *Austin Chronicle*, August 1991.

[15] Sharon Hill, "The Empty Stairs: The Lost History of East Austin" in *Intersections: New Perspectives on Texas Public History* 1, no. 1, (Spring 2012).

[16] Yznaga, 1979; "Struggle of blacks traced in Austin history," *Austin American Statesman*, October 7, 1984; Andrew M. Busch, "Crossing Over: Sustainability, New Urbanism, and Gentrification in Austin, Texas," *Southern Spaces,* August 19, 2015, accessed July 28, 2016, http://southernspaces.org/2015/crossing-over-sustainability-new-urbanism-and-gentrification-austin-texas.

[17] Robena Estelle Jackson, "East Austin: A Socio-Historical View of a Segregated Community," (master's thesis, (University of Texas at Austin, 1979), 113-115.

[18] "Rosewood Neighborhood Plan," adopted by the City of Austin on November 29, 2001. Available at http://www.cityofaustin.org/edims/document.cfm?id=79737.

[19] McCarver, 22 ; Eliot M. Tretter, *Shadows of a Sunbelt City: The Environment, Racism, and the Knowledge Economy in Austin* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2016), chapter 2. Note that McCarver and Tretter note references to the idea of expanding the University of Texas eastward as early as the 1920s, but additional primary source research is required to substantiate this trend.

[20] McCarver, 64.

[21] M. Andrea Campetella, "Service Learning on the East Side, "The University of Texas at Austin School of Social Work, accessed July 28, 2016, https://socialwork.utexas.edu/featured/service-learning-robert-weaver-homes/; Lyndon B. Johnson, "Remarks at the Dedication of the Austin Oaks Housing Project, Austin, Texas," December 14, 1968. Available from *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29277.

[22] Busch, "Crossing Over: Sustainability, New Urbanism, and Gentrification in Austin, Texas."

[23] City of Austin, City Council minutes, February 21, 1968, http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=38181; "Waters Rough From Start," *Austin American Statesman*, March 20, 1966, from ProQuest, accessed June 20, 2016, http://www.proquest.com/.

[24] "Fiesta Gardens To Bloom," *The Austin American Statesman*, March 20, 1966, from ProQuest, accessed June 20, 2016, http://www.proquest.com/.

[25] "Wray Weddell's Austin," *The Austin American Statesman*, May 30, 1966, from ProQuest, accessed June 20, 2016, http://www.proquest.com/.

[26] "Fiesta Gardens Transferred Back To City's Ownership," *The Austin American* Statesman, December 16, 1967.

[27] Horensia Palomares, "Jesse Segovia Biography 1937-2000," 2006, from http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=104597; "Portrait of a Rich Culture," *The Austin American Statesman,* October 22, 1989, from ProQuest, accessed June 20, 2016, http://www.proquest.com/..

[28] *Austin Aqua Festival Records*, Austin History Center, Austin, Texas.

[29] Kim McKnight, "Parks and Recreation Department, Historical background, Holly Shores," 2012. Available from: http://www.pavementcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Holly-Street-History.pdf

[30] Jane H. Rivera and Gilberto C. Rivera, *Austin's Rosewood Neighborhood* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2012), 14; R. Matt Abigail, "Madison, Henry Green," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 26, 2016. http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmaek

[31] Michael Barnes, "From the archives: Austin's battle over Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard," *Austin 360,* January 15, 2016, http://society.blog.austin360.com/2016/01/14/austins-battle-over-mlk-street.

[32] Rivera, 55.

[33] Austintexas.gov, "Alamo Recreation Center," accessed June 26, 2016, http://www.austintexas.gov/department/alamo-recreation-center.

[34] Carlos E. Flores, "Sergio Pineda, East Side Librarian" *Tejas*, January 1992.

2.9. Conclusion

As established within the context of East Austin, each era presented new trends and themes that would continue to shape the physical and cultural development of the area over decades to come, interweaving multiple layers of history into the diverse and eclectic urban fabric seen today. For example, although few buildings or structures remain that date from Austin's early development, the street patterns and divisions between subdivisions continue to communicate the neighborhood's early association with the Austin Outlots, part of a large amount of land beyond the original townsite that the Republic of Texas set aside for Austin's future growth. Subsequent development of the Outlots largely adhered to the master plan that surveyor William Sandusky delineated in 1840 (depicted in *figure I-4* in *Section 2.2*). Unlike Edwin Waller's original 1839 plan for the townsite, which boasts a grid-like rigidity with nearly uniformly sized blocks and lots, the Sandusky plan for East Austin presents a more eclectic character that presaged its later history and development. The layout adapts to a more varied topography that created a large number of odd-sized blocks and a complex street network that contrasted sharply to the original townsite. The 1840 plan's enduring quality remains clearly evident to the present. For example, when rail service arrived in Austin in December 1871, the rail lines followed demarcations within Sandusky's plan. As new residents flocked to the area after the railroad's arrival, the city grew into East Austin and the other Outlot areas, the Sandusky plan anticipated as early as 1840.

Present-day East Austin's cultural character is rooted in the area's early history as well. One early trend that remains evident within East Austin's fabric and cultural character was the establishment of small freedmen communities in the late 1860s and 1870s. Many of these enclaves, such as Pleasant Hill and Masontown, were in East Austin near former slave-holding families who partitioned and sold some their land. The large number of African Americans in East Austin at this time contributed to the establishment of Tillotson College and Normal Institute in 1881, as well as other social and religious institutions. At the same time, the growing number of Mexican immigrants, many of whom sought to escape turmoil in Mexico, likewise began to settle together in East Austin. Through the late nineteenth century, while East Austin contained a significant Black population and a growing Hispanic population, East Austin's demographics were heterogeneous at least at a macro level, and also included European immigrants and Anglo Americans settlers from other parts of Texas and the nation. However, East Austin became increasingly segregated slightly before and onwards into the 1900s. The adoption of the Koch & Fowler 1928 city plan (refer to *Section 2.5*) culminated this trend by denying basic government services to African Americans in other parts of Austin, explicitly forcing African Americans as well as Mexican Americans to move to East Austin. Yet in the face of segregation, East Austin's residents built homes, businesses, and institutions that reflected their unique cultural aesthetics. They were actors in historical trends and events with significance in their own right, working to improve their own community as part of the WPA

movement, serving their country in World War II, and organizing to work for political and environmental justice before and during the Civil Rights era.

During the late twentieth century and again in the early twenty-first century, East Austin experienced rapid growth and is now one of the city's fastest growing urbanized areas. Austin has attracted a large number of young, educated professionals seeking to enjoy the unique quality of life Austin has to offer. These new settlers have contributed to a dynamic economy that has spurred a series of construction booms and an expanded central business district. This growth has raised property values across the entire city, but its effect has been felt most dramatically in many parts of East Austin. Many of the residents who have called this area home have now been priced out of their neighborhoods. This trend has led to the demolition of many historic properties and the construction of new mixed-used and commercial buildings that share none of the physical attributes that historically characterized the area. Despite such threats, many parts of East Austin still survive and remain as tangible links to the community's proud past.

This historic context seeks to illustrate how clear and relevant associations can be made between the trends and themes of the past and the historic resources that remain extant in East Austin today, so that the history of East Austin becomes alive and relevant to today's residents, communicated through its surviving historic resources and cultural institutions. The trends within the context may form the basis of eligibility recommendations for landmarks and historic districts moving forward. As such, this historic context is an integral component for interpreting the results of the East Austin Survey presented in the following sections, and the eligibility recommendations set forth draw clear links between historic resources and the historical trends and themes presented herein.

3. Evaluation Framework

For the purpose of this project, HHM prepared the *Historic Context of East Austin* in an effort to link East Austin resources to historical associations and significant individuals. The context establishes myriad areas of significance such as Population and Development Patterns; Business, Social, and Entertainment Venues; and Cultural Institutions that provide the framework for evaluating the surveyed resources for both City of Austin and NRHP-individual landmark and historic district eligibility.

3.1. CITY OF AUSTIN DESIGNATION CRITERIA

3.1.1. Local Landmark Eligibility

As outlined in the City of Austin's *Historic Zoning Application Packet*, the following criteria must be met for a resource to qualify for local landmark designation:

- The resource must be at least 50 years old, unless the property is of exceptional importance as defined by the National Park Service's *National Register Bulletin 22*; and
- The resource must retain a high degree of integrity, as defined by the National Register of Historic Places, and clearly convey its historical significance and does not have any additions or alterations that significantly compromise its integrity; and
- Meet one of the following criteria:
    - Be individually listed in the NRHP, or designated as a Recorded Texas Historic Landmark (RTHL), a State Antiquities Landmark (SAL), or a National Historic Landmark (NHL), or;
    - Demonstrate significance in at least **two** of the following criteria:
        - *Architecture* – The property embodies the distinguishing characteristics of a recognized architectural style, type, or method of construction; exemplifies technological innovation in design or construction; displays high artistic value in representing ethnic or folk art, architecture, or construction; represents a rare example of an architectural style in the city; serves as an outstanding example of the work of an architect, builder, or artisan who significantly contributed to the development of the city, state, or nation; possesses cultural, historical, or architectural value as a particularly fine or unique example of a utilitarian or vernacular structure; or represents an architectural curiosity or one-of-a-kind building. A property located within a local historic district is ineligible to be nominated for landmark designation under the criterion for architecture, unless it possesses exceptional significance or is representative of a separate period of significance.
        - *Historical Associations* – The property has long-standing significant associations with persons, groups, institutions, businesses, or events of historic importance which contributed

significantly to the history of the city, state, or nation; or represents a significant portrayal of the cultural practices or the way of life of a definable group of people in a historic time.

- *Archeology* – The property has, or is expected to yield significant data concerning the human history or prehistory of the region.
- *Community Value* – The property has a unique location, physical characteristic, or significant feature that contributes to the character, image, or cultural identity of the city, a neighborhood, or a particular group.
- *Landscape Feature* – The property is a significant natural or designed landscape or landscape feature with artistic, aesthetic, cultural, or historical value to the city.

3.1.2. Historic District Eligibility

Both the City of Austin and the NRHP define a local historic district as a "geographically-defined area possessing a significant concentration of buildings united by their history and/or architecture."[1] Therefore, for this survey's purposes, the city considers eligibility for listing as a National Register historic district and as a City of Austin historic district to be equivalent (see NRHP-eligibility requirements in *Section 3.2.1* below). In addition to meeting the NRHP-eligibility requirements, the city also requires the following for local historic district listing:

- At least 51% of the principal buildings within the district boundaries must be contributing;
- At least 51% of the owners of the land area inside the district boundaries, or at least 51% of the total number of property owners, must agree to initiate historic zoning.

The city defines contributing as "any resource which adds to the historical integrity or architectural qualities that make a historic district significant."[2] Contributing resources must also be at least 50 years old, built during the period of significance, and retain sufficient integrity to convey its historic character.

A historic district's boundaries should be based on the density, type, age, architectural style, integrity, and/or patterns of development or associations of the resources comprising the district. Oftentimes these boundaries correlate to subdivisions or multiple subdivisions, but a shared or common history may defy these boundaries.

3.2. NRHP EVALUATION CRITERIA FOR INDIVIDUAL RESOURCES AND HISTORIC DISTRICTS

To be eligible for the NRHP, both individual resources and historic districts must possess significance under one of the National Register Criteria and retain sufficient integrity to convey that significance.

3.2.1. National Register Criteria

The National Register Criteria for Evaluation states that a resource must meet a 50-year age threshold and must derive significance from at least **one** of the following Criteria to be eligible for the NRHP:

- *Criterion A. Association with Important Historical Events or Trends* – The resource must be associated with events, trends, or patterns that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history;
- *Criterion B. Association with Important Individuals of the Past* – The resource must be associated with the lives of significant persons who made important contributions to the history of a community, city, state, or the nation;
- *Criterion C. Physical Attributes, Design Qualities, Work of a Master* – The resource must embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represents the work of a master, or possess high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; and
- *Criterion D. Research Potential* – The resource must have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

3.2.2. National Register Criteria Considerations

The National Register Criteria for Evaluation states that certain kinds of resources typically are not considered for inclusion in the NRHP. Examples include churches, synagogues, and other religious properties; resources that have been moved or relocated; birthplaces and graves of famous people, cemeteries, buildings and structures that have been reconstructed; resources used to commemorate an event, trend, or individual of the past; and properties that do not meet the recommended 50-year age threshold. However, these properties can be eligible for listing if they meet certain conditions defined in the National Register Criteria for Evaluation as "Criteria Considerations." Resources that meet any of the Criteria Considerations must also meet at least one of the National Register Criteria (A, B, C, or D). The following is a list of normally excluded properties that may, under certain circumstances, be eligible for the NRHP:

- Criteria Consideration A: Religious Properties
- Criteria Consideration B: Moved Properties
- Criteria Consideration C: Birthplaces or Graves
- Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries
- Criteria Consideration E: Reconstructed Properties
- Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties
- Criteria Consideration G: Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past 50 Years

3.3. SEVEN ASPECTS OF INTEGRITY

In addition to possessing significance under one or more of the National Register Criteria, in order to be considered eligible for inclusion in the NRHP, a property and contributing resources must also retain sufficient integrity and historic character to convey their significance. The National Register Criteria recognize seven aspects that define integrity, in various combinations. These aspects of integrity are defined below:

- *Location* – The place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
- *Design* – The combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
- *Setting* – The physical environment of a historic property.
- *Materials* – The physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
- *Workmanship* – The physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
- *Feeling* – The property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
- *Association* – The direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

A resource need not retain all seven of these aspects of integrity to be eligible for the NRHP; conversely, a resource possessing all seven aspects of integrity is not necessarily eligible for the NRHP. The degree to which an NRHP-eligible property should retain its integrity depends directly upon the National Register Criteria under which the resource possesses significance and is considered eligible for inclusion in the NRHP. For example, a property eligible under Criterion C should retain the aspects of integrity linked to physical qualities (Design, Materials, and Workmanship) to a higher degree than one that is eligible for its historical associations (Criterion A or B). However, a property that is eligible for its historical associations (Criterion A or B) should still be recognizable to the time or era in which it attained significance and still possess those qualities that convey its significance.

[1] City of Austin Planning and Zoning Department, Local Historic Districts, accessed July 14, 2016, http://www.austintexas.gov/department/local-historic-districts.

[2] Ibid.

4. Survey Results

This section presents the results of the *Historic Resources Survey of East Austin*. During the spring of 2016, HHM identified and documented 6,600 resources on approximately 5,300 parcels.[1] An inventory of all the resources documented can be found in *Appendix B*.

As part of this project, HHM evaluated all resources at least 45 years of age for both City of Austin landmark eligibility and listing in the NRHP.[2] HHM also evaluated neighborhoods, subdivisions, streets, and other areas for potential historic districts. All evaluations were made by professionals meeting the *Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualification Standards* (36 CFR 61), carefully following the City Code of Ordinances and the National Register of Historic Places criteria. The table below summarizes the breakdown of eligibility recommendations.

Table I-10. Number of resources per each eligibility recommendation category, based upon City of Austin criteria versus National Register criteria.

Eligibility Recommendation	Criteria	
	City of Austin	National Register
Meets criteria for individual eligibility	99	136
Meets criteria for both individual eligibility and contributing to an eligible historic district	199	201
Meets criteria for contributing to an eligible historic district	1,435	1,403
Non-contributing to an eligible historic district	977	977
Not eligible	3,864	3,863
Previous designations (no recommendation)	26	20
TOTAL	**6,600**	**6,600**

Note that a City of Austin recommendation and a National Register recommendation was assigned for each identified resource.

Detailed information on the resources that meet the criteria for individual eligibility is compiled in *Appendix C*, and information on the recommended historic districts is compiled in *Appendix D.* The appendices contain information that aims to provide a basis for property owners—and/or neighborhoods interested in pursuing designation—to begin the process of listing these resources. See *Appendix H* for information and resources regarding the nomination process for both local and NRHP listing. Additional help, resources, and tips may also be available from Preservation Austin, a non-profit organization that advocates for preservation in Austin.[3]

For resources where owner and/or neighborhood efforts lead to designation, there are several implications of landmark status to consider. Local landmarks and contributing resources to both local and NRHP-listed historic districts require a Certificate of Appropriateness application for all proposed alterations. Individually NRHP-listed resources have no city zoning implications; only advisory permitting review is required.[4] For detailed information on the regulations and restrictions for local landmarks, NRHP-listed resources, resources located within a local historic district, and resources located with an NRHP-listed historic district see *Chapter 25.11 Building, Demolition, and Relocation Permits; Special Requirements for Historic Structures* in the City of Austin Code of Ordinances found in *Appendix H*.

One incentive to seeking local and/or NRHP designation is the availability of various tax credits. Eligible resources include local landmarks, NRHP-listed resources, contributing resources to local historic districts, contributing resources to NRHP-listed historic districts. For a detailed discussion of which properties are eligible for which tax incentives, please see *Appendix H*.

4.1. INDIVIDUAL LANDMARKS

During the field survey, HHM made preliminary eligibility recommendations based on a resource's architecture and integrity as seen in the field. HHM applied integrity thresholds in an effort to maintain recommendation consistency. For example, all buildings meeting the Architecture criterion as outlined in the City of Austin's *Historic Zoning Application Packet* also were evaluated to determine if they retained sufficient integrity to convey their architectural significance.[5] In many cases, houses with multiple alterations—replaced windows, replaced doors, and replaced exterior wall materials—were determined to no longer retain sufficient integrity, but simply having replaced doors typically was not enough to detract from the resource's overall integrity. HHM also considered the year(s) when the alterations occurred. If the alterations occurred within the period of significance, these changes are considered part of a resource's history and historic character and do not detract from its integrity. Historically compatible alterations—such as a new wood door similar to the historic door—that date to outside the period of significance also have less impact on a resource's integrity than incompatible alterations. Examples of incompatible alterations include replacing wood windows with aluminum windows or covering historic wood siding with stucco or stone. Of the 6,600 resources documented, HHM preliminarily identified 376 resources that met the city's Architecture criterion and were flagged for additional research to determine whether they met any additional criteria.

The city requires a resource meet two criteria in order to be eligible for local landmark status (see *Section 3. Evaluation Framework* or *Appendix H*). In an effort to establish significance under a second criterion, HHM conducted city directory research on the list of resources meeting the Architecture criterion to possibly uncover associations with significant individuals, groups, institutions, businesses, and/or historic events. HHM researched the houses' occupants in five year increments using city directories, beginning with the construction date and ending in 1970.[6] Upon completing the city directory research, HHM looked for associations between these occupants and any significant trends, people, and events established in the *East Austin Historic Context*. After completing the research and subsequent analysis, 298 resources met two or more criteria, as required for local landmark designation,[7] in addition to the 27 resources previously designated as local landmarks. This is not a definitive list of all the resources in East Austin that meet the criteria for local landmark designation; there are certainly more resources not on this list that meet the criteria for designation. For this report's purpose, however, only those resources found to have associations with historically significant trends, events, and/or persons as established in the context are recommended eligible. Further research beyond this project's scope may also reveal a significant association between a resource in the

survey and trends, patterns, and/or events found in this or another context. Additionally, HHM conducted only rudimentary research on the occupants identified in the city directories, but further research into these people may reveal historical significance.

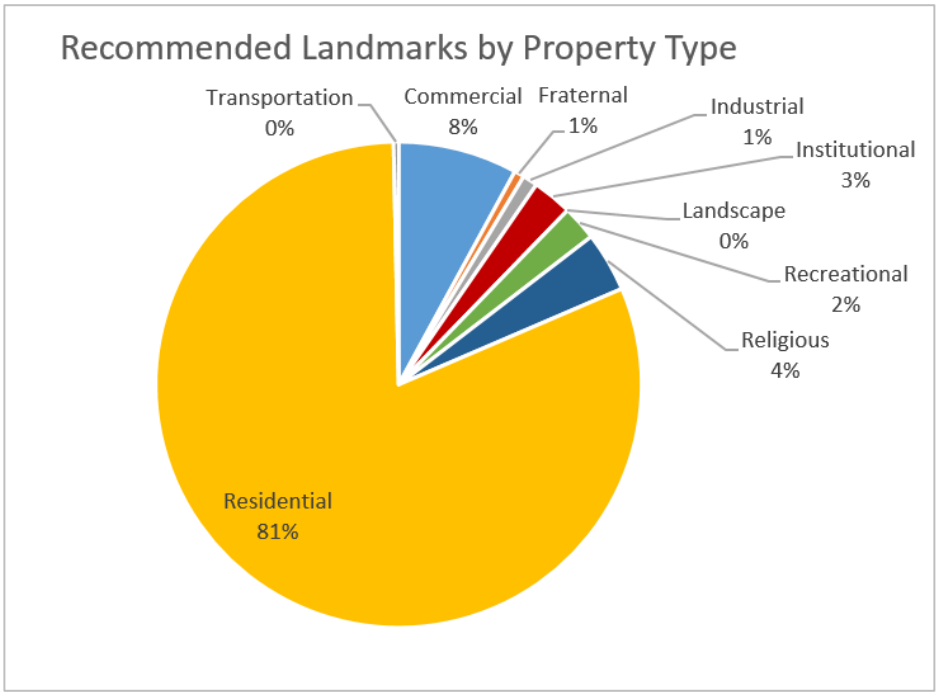
For those resources found to meet only one criterion, they remain recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP only. All current City of Austin landmarks not already individually listed in the NRHP are also recommended eligible for listing.

Survey forms with detailed information and photographs for each resource that meets the criteria for local landmark designation and/or NRHP-listed are compiled in *Appendix H*.

The following figures and charts provide an overview of the *recommended individual landmarks*.

Figure I-112. Geographic Distribution of Recommended Landmarks. The green represents the properties recommended to meet the criteria for local landmark designation.

Figure I-113. (Right) Breakdown of recommended landmarks by property type. This chart highlights that the overwhelming number of recommended landmarks are residential, followed by commercial properties, religious properties, institutional properties, recreational properties, fraternal, and industrial properties.



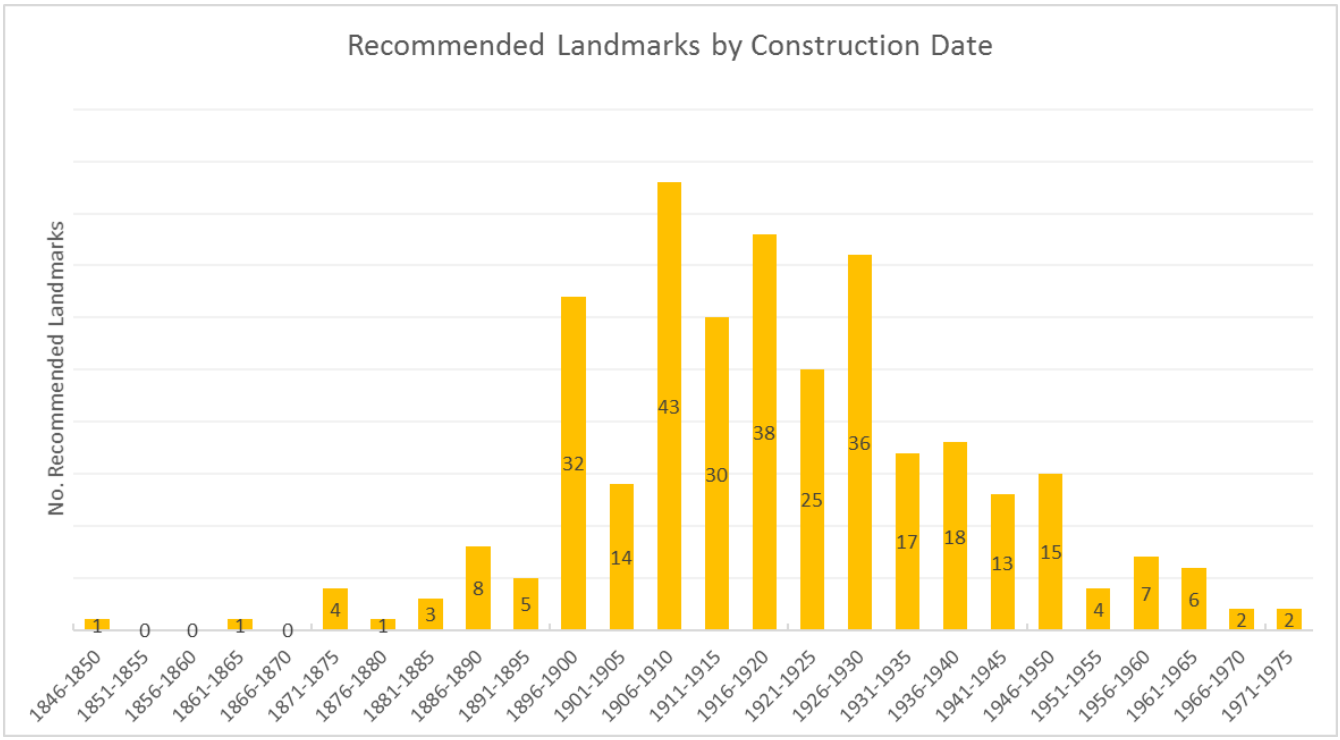


Figure I-114. Breakdown of recommended landmarks by construction date. This chart reveals that most of the resources recommended meet the City's criteria for local landmark designation date from between 1896 and 1940.

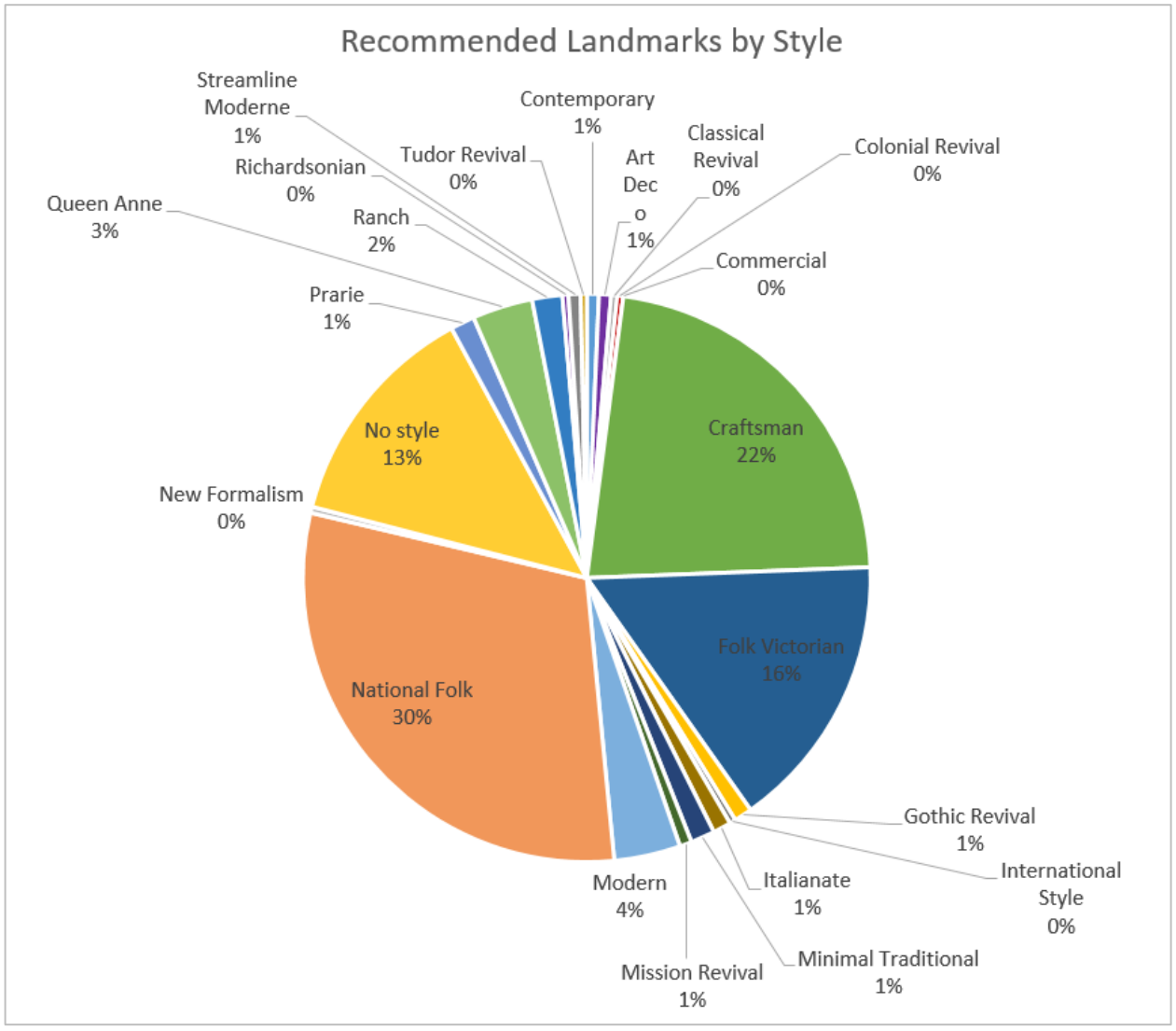


Figure I-115. Breakdown of recommended landmarks by style. As seen in this chart, National Folk, Craftsman, and Folk Victorian resources are the most commonly-identified architectural styles among the recommended landmarks.

4.2. HISTORIC DISTRICTS

HHM observed 24 potential local historic districts during the field survey. Areas with a density of similar resources—property types, architectural styles, construction years, development patterns—and with sufficient integrity to convey historic character were deemed potential historic districts. In-depth analysis of each of the 24 recommended historic districts can be found in *Appendix D.*

The following figures and charts provide an overview of the *recommended historic districts*.

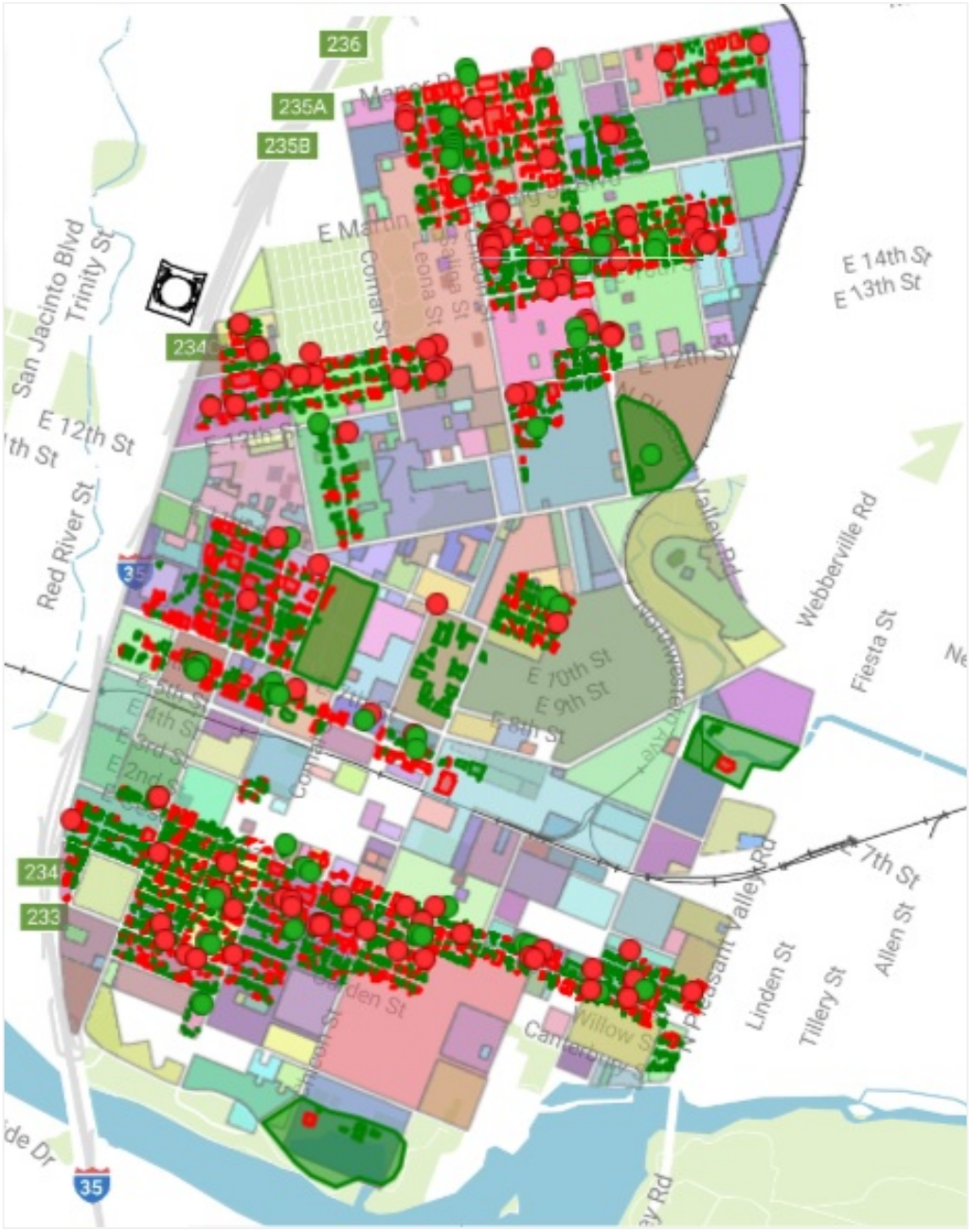
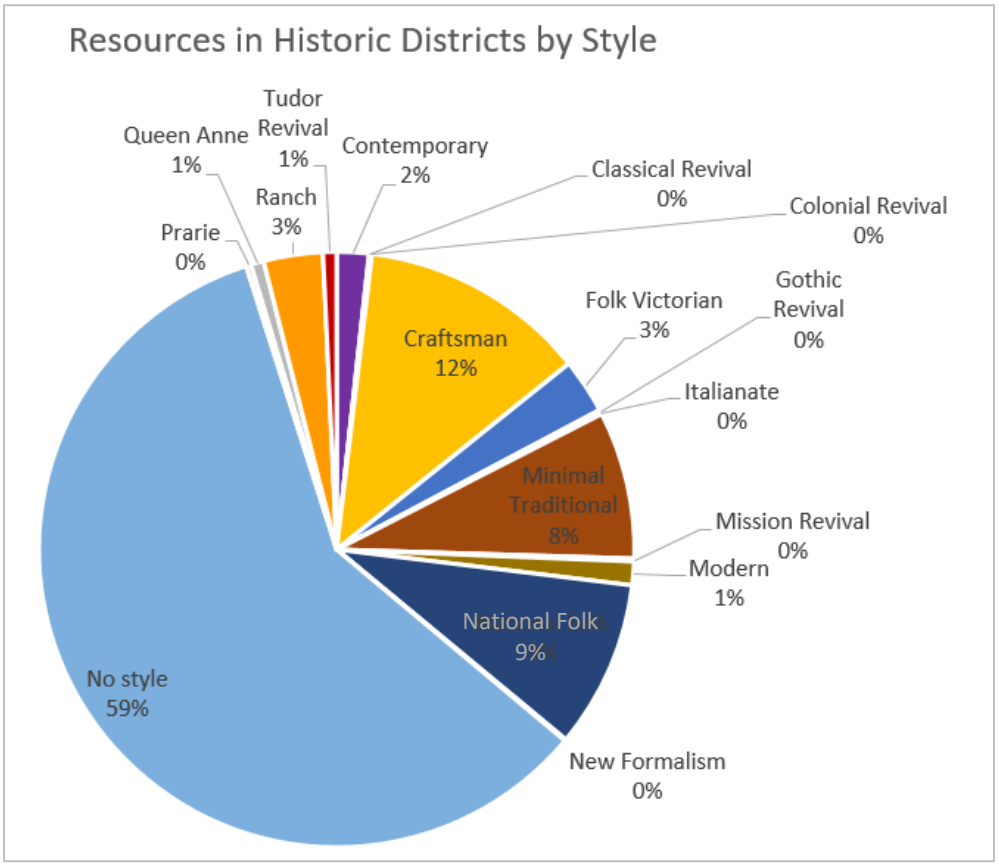


Figure I-116. This figure shows the geographic distribution and size of each of the recommended historic districts. Red represents non-contributing resources and green represents contributing resources.

Figure I-117. (Right) This chart depicts resources in recommended historic districts by architectural style. Note that no style, Craftsman, and National Folk represent the most commonly-identified architectural styles among the resources in recommended historic districts.



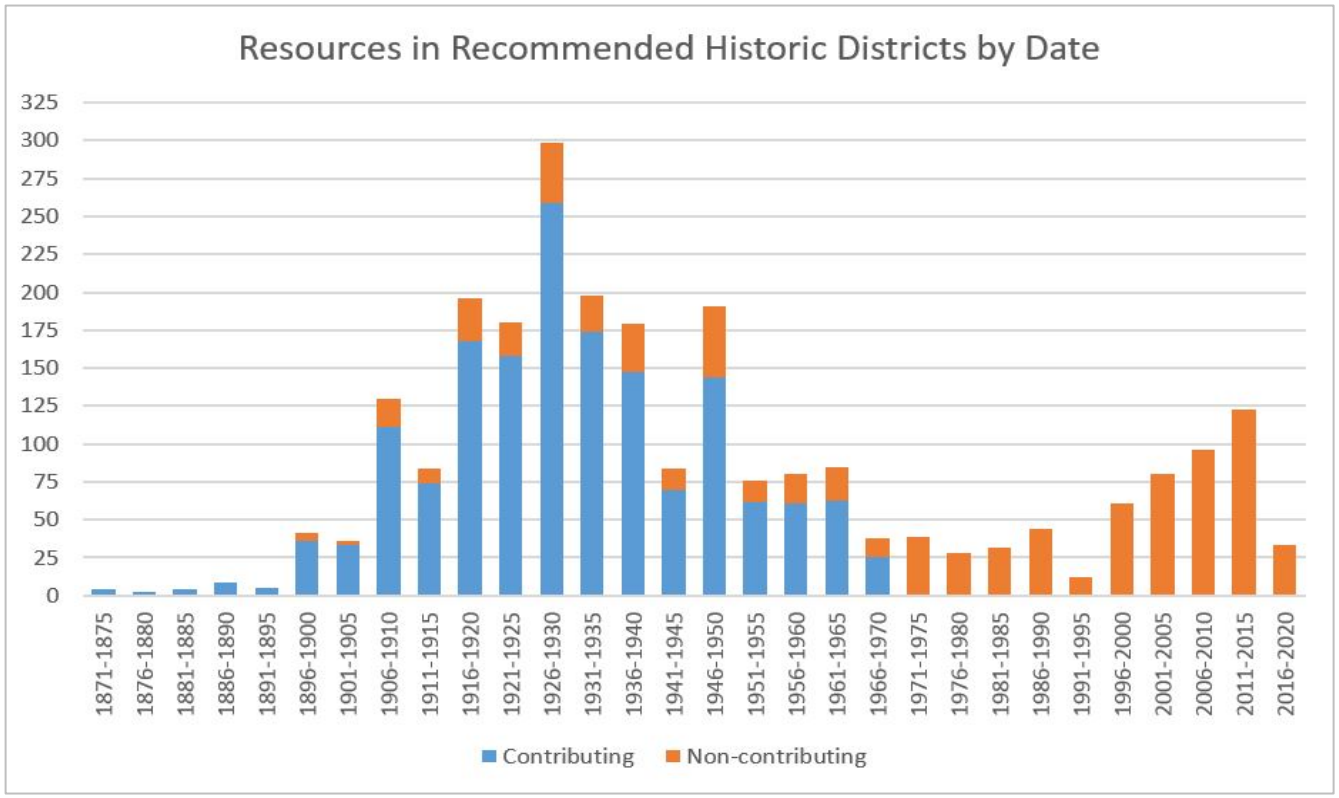


Figure I-118. This chart provides insight into construction dates for resources in the recommended historic districts and the number of non-contributing versus contributing resources from each period of time. As seen in the chart, most resources in the potential historic districts date to three decades: 1920, 1930, and 1940.

[1] This number is an approximation because not every resource is associated with a parcel. Because some new buildings did not appear in the current TCAD data, they do not have PIDNs yet and therefore have no PIDN attached to the record in the database.

[2] Based on the 1970 cutoff date established by the City in the RFP for the project.

[3] Preservation Austin's website can be found at https://www.preservationaustin.org/.

[4] The Certificate of Appropriateness application is available online at https://www.austintexas.gov/sites/default/files/files/Planning/Applications_Forms/historic-review-coa.pdf.

[5] According to the packet, the building "embodies the distinguishing characteristics of a recognized architectural style, type, or method of construction."

[6] City directory research begins in 1905, as earlier city directories only list occupants by name and do not list street addresses. Additionally, for those houses with previously identified historical associations, city directory research was not completed.

[7] This number reflects the 102 resources recommended as "Meets criteria for individual eligibility" plus the 196 resources recommended as "Meets criteria for both individual eligibility and contributing to an eligible historic district."

5. Property Types

The text below sets forth the typology used to classify historic-age resources identified within the East Austin survey area. Property types form useful groupings that facilitate queries of the survey data and comparative analysis of similar buildings. The property type classifications are organized according to broad types that relate to the function of the resource, such as:

- Buildings
  - Commercial
  - Fraternal
  - Industrial
  - Institutional
  - Recreational
  - Religious
  - Residential
  - Railroad-Related
- Sites
- Structures

Within each broad property type, subtypes are defined according to the building's form. Each subtype's form is described and illustrated with an example from the East Austin survey, and the range of construction dates and architectural styles associated with the subtype within the survey area is identified.

Note that according to the fieldwork methodology approved by the City of Austin at this project's outset, small-scale sheds were not surveyed or documented within the scope of the East Austin survey.

5A. BUILDINGS

5A.1. Commercial Buildings

5A.1.1. COMMERCIAL BLOCK

In a commercial block, buildings fill the property fully to the lot line, so that each building closely abuts its neighbor and adjoining buildings frequently share party walls. In many instances within East Austin, adjacent buildings have been demolished, so that buildings that originally stood within a commercial block now appear freestanding. The commercial block is traditionally an urban building form often situated near a transportation hub, which increases property value and motivates density. In the East Austin survey area, both railroad lines and intersections of two significant roadways created hubs that drove commercial block construction. As automobile ownership increased in the mid-to-late 1900s, parking became more valuable than proximity to transportation hubs, and the commercial block gradually became less common. In the East Austin survey area, historic commercial blocks date from 1875 through the end of the historic period at 1971.

5A.1.1.1. One-part Commercial Block

The one-part commercial block persisted as a common commercial building type from 1875 through 1971. The enduring popularity of this building type demonstrates the practicality of its design, efficient use of space, and economical cost of construction and maintenance. Resources in this category can be independent and free standing, or they may be part of a row of buildings that share common walls.

Character-defining features of a One-part Commercial Block

- One-story load-bearing masonry construction with a rectangular plan or building footprint.
- Storefront (often a three-part configuration) with a single- or double-door entrance and large wood- or metal-frame plate-glass windows.
- Canopy across the front, typically with metal rod or chain supports wall.
- Row of fixed-light wood-sash transoms above storefront.
- Parapet that obscures the slightly pitched roof.

Other features that may be present

- Detailed masonry work in the parapet, cornice, and/or wall surfaces.
- Vertical brick piers defining storefront bays.
- Cast-iron pilasters, door thresholds, or engaged columns.
- Decorative tile flooring and/or inlay in entrance bay.
- Stylistic influences typically not present but could include Craftsman, Mission Revival, Streamline Moderne, or Modern stylistic detailing.

Figure I-119. Example of a **one-part commercial block** at 1311 East Cesar Chavez Street. Note the positioning of the building flush with the lot line, the three-part configuration of the front façade, the large windows with transoms, and the detailing at the parapet. For this example, the original windows and doors have been replaced with simple and compatible modern materials, and the building's overall integrity of design and materials remain intact. The historically adjacent building to the west (right) has been demolished, so that the setting no longer is within a commercial block, yet the building's location flush with the lot line continues to communicate its commercial block typology. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.1.1.2. Two-part Commercial Block

Within the East Austin survey area, two-part commercial buildings are less common than one-part commercial buildings and were constructed over a more confined timeframe, from around 1915 to about 1950. The ground level accommodates public-oriented functions such as retail operations, and features a composition and organization similar to that of the one-part commercial block building.

Character-defining features of a Two-part Commercial Block

- Two distinct zones separated by a horizontal architectural element.

- Multi-story load-bearing masonry construction.
- Brick, limestone, or cast-concrete construction.
- Storefront (usually a three-part configuration) with a single- or double-door entrance and large wood- or metal-frame plate-glass windows.
- Canopy with metal rods or chain supports across the front.
- Row of wood-frame transoms above storefront and/or canopy.
- Multiple (typically three to six) window openings on upper floor(s).
- Double-hung, wood-sash windows on upper floor(s).
- Parapet with varying levels of ornamentation.

Other features that may be present

- Detailed masonry work in the parapet, piers, and wall surfaces.
- Cast-iron pilasters, engaged columns, or door thresholds.
- Hoodmolds and/or lintels above and sills below second-floor windows.
- Round-, segmental-, or flat-arched openings, especially on second floor.
- Pressed-metal detailing in cornice or parapet.
- Typically feature no stylistic influences, although rare examples of the Prairie and Streamline Moderne styles may be found.

Figure I-120. Example of a **two-part commercial block** building at 1313 East 6th Street. On the front façade, a thin horizontal canopy separates the ground floor from the upper floor. Note the large storefront windows on the ground floor, contrasted to the second floor's narrower windows. Although the original storefront has been replaced, it still echoes the traditional pattern of a two-part commercial block building, with an entrance into the ground-floor retail space at the center of the front façade plus a second entrance leading to the upstairs space at the side (right). The original one-over-one wood-sash windows remain intact on the second floor, as well as the corbelled brickwork at the cornice. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.1.1.3. Commercial Strip

The commercial strip modifies the commercial block in which a series of adjoining commercial spaces are designed as a unit, with a shared structural system and a coherent aesthetic. While the buildings within a commercial block typically filled the lot, a commercial strip typically leaves space for surface parking either at the front or at the rear.

5A.1.1.4. Hybrid House/Store

In this rare but distinctive property type, the building's commercial portion is immediately adjacent to a residential building, with interior connections between its commercial and residential spaces. Sometimes buildings of this type were designed originally to serve a hybrid function. In other instances the form evolved as additions were constructed during the historic period. These buildings typically occupy a corner lot, with the commercial space opening onto a busier street, while the residence opens onto a quieter side street. These buildings function as neighborhood commercial nodes, and they generally are surrounded by residential buildings rather than attached to a larger commercial block. This unique property type met the need for a walkable neighborhood commercial area in era before widespread automobile ownership in East Austin, and, as such, date from as early as 1875 through about 1960.

Character-defining features of Hybrid House/Store

- Commercial building physically abutting residential building.
- Shared walls between commercial and residential portions.

Other features that may be present

- Corner lot location.
- Chamfered corner, with commercial entrance at corner.
- Stylistic detailing more typical of residential architecture present on the commercial building, such as Craftsman brackets or Ranch style stone masonry.

Figure I-121. The Haehnel Store Building at 1101 East 11th Street is an example of a **hybrid house/store** building dating from 1875. Note how the building negotiates its corner lot, with the store fronting on the busier commercial thoroughfare of East 11th Street and the house relating to Waller Street instead. The chamfered corner location of the front entrance attracts pedestrians from multiple directions into the commercial space. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.1.1.5. Freestanding Commercial

FALSE FRONT

The *False Front* building is among the most distinctive commercial architectural forms of the late 1800s and early 1900s. This vernacular commercial building form provided a relatively inexpensive and easy-to-construct means of establishing a place of business in an area experiencing rapid growth, particularly during initial periods of development. This building type is often associated with early commercial development in cities throughout the western United States, and examples still exist in the East Austin survey area.

Character-defining features of False Front

- One-story building with rectangular plan or building footprint.
- False front on primary façade with a stepped form; the central block is higher than the flanking sides.
- Wood-frame construction with horizontal or board-and-batten wood siding.
- Front-gabled roof largely obscured by parapet or false front.
- Symmetrically arranged façade with single-door entrance and plate-glass windows on the front.
- Canopy across front with turned or chamfered wood columns.
- Pier-and-beam foundation.
- Independent and freestanding.

Other features that may be present

- Painted signage in parapet.
- Wood porch flooring.
- Minimal amounts of architectural detailing.

Figure I-122. The historic Scoot Inn at 1308 E. 4th Street is an example of a **false front commercial property**. Note the stepped parapet extending above the front-gabled roof. As shown by Sanborn maps, the rear and side additions were constructed prior to 1894.Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

COMMERCIAL BOX

The commercial box is a common commercial building type that appeared in conjunction with the rise of the automobile in East Austin around 1920, and persisted through 1971 and beyond. Unlike commercial block buildings, which were oriented for pedestrian-related activity, the commercial box form provided surface parking in order to focus on auto-related activity.

Character-defining features of Commercial Box

- Independent and freestanding building similar in massing and appearance to the one-part commercial block.
- One-story load-bearing masonry construction with a rectangular plan or building footprint.
- Storefront with a single- or double-door entrance and large wood- or metal-frame plate-glass windows.
- Canopy or wide overhanging eave across the front.
- Often setback from road to allow parking in front.
- Building takes up smaller footprint of lot in order to provide parking for customers.

Other features that may be present

- Auto-oriented features, such as side garage bays or loading/unloading platforms for trucks.
- May have stylistic influences including Mission Revival, Streamline Moderne, or Modern.

Figure I-123. This is an example of a **commercial box** property at 2007 East 7th Street. Note the wide, overhanging eaves on the front and side that would cover a person as they left their car and walked into the building. This building is set back from the roadway and takes up a small footprint of the lot in order to allow for parking in front of and behind the building. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

RESTAURANT

Although this form generally falls under commercial box category, the restaurant building sometimes has a more complex form, such as a U-shape or massed plan. Restaurants constitute businesses where meals are prepared for and served to customers.

Restaurants existed well before the advent of automobile travel and were a mainstay for sales representatives and others who traveled frequently; however, the restaurant's evolution as a distinct building form is closely tied to the automobile's rise. Eating establishments were common in any downtown, but the railroad boom of the late 1800s and early 1900s led to a greater concentration of restaurants near passenger depots and underscored their dependency on transportation. In East Austin, the dawn of the automobile era led many restaurant owners to establish their businesses along the major roadways to serve the growing number of motorists who needed places to eat.

Character-defining features of a Restaurant

- Located along major roadways to serve motorists who need a place to eat.
- Typically a stand-alone building either set back or adjacent to the roadside.
- Varied scale and massing, with forms and design often based on the type of cuisine offered.
- Signage on building/roofline and/or adjacent to the road.
- Parking in front of or on side of building.

Figure I-124. This **restaurant**, El Azteca, is an example of a complex restaurant form at 2522 East 7th Street. The building is U-shaped and reflects the style of the Mexican food restaurant that occupies the building, as seen in the central courtyard. In addition, the building has dedicated parking on the side of the lot. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

GAS STATION

Gas stations are among the most distinctive form of buildings in the commercial property type category. Functioning as places for fuel's curbside distribution, their evolution closely follows the automobile's development in Texas. More gas stations emerged as the road networks expanded and spurred the proliferation of automobiles. Competition among various corporations quickly led to a standardized typology of gas station design that included buildings, color schemes, and signage. Despite the many variants that existed, all gas stations shared common physical characteristics and attributes that identified them as a distinct building form.

Although many subtypes exist, the most common gas station forms include the box-with-canopy, house-with-canopy, and oblong box-with-canopy, all of which have open bays and raised stands for gas pumps.

Character-defining features of a Gas Station

- Often located on a corner lot to provide access from two streets.
- Rectangular footprint.
- Exterior materials of brick, stucco, or porcelain enamel tile.
- A single- or double-door entrance with large, plate-glass wood, or metal frame windows.
- Flat roof.
- Large overhead doors that provide access to service bays or a garage.
- If present, a flat-roofed canopy extends from the office and provides coverage over gas pumps.
- Most common styles in survey area are Streamline Moderne and Modern/International.

Figure I-125. This former Gulf station is an example of an oblong box-with-canopy **gas station** located at 2701 East Martin Luther King, Jr. (MLK, Jr.) Boulevard (19th Street). The oblong box with canopy displays restrained Modern or International stylistic influences. Note the inward-sloping eaves of the canopy's underside; this is a feature distinct to Gulf stations of the 1950s and 1960s. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

AUTO REPAIR SHOP

Within East Austin, this type of building typically falls under the commercial box type. However, there are a few exceptions, such as when the building has a canopy projecting from its front or is a large and utilitarian warehouse-type building. With the automobile's rise came the need for facilities that could be used for auto repair. The introduction and subsequent widespread use of standard interchangeable parts by automotive companies made it possible for both independent companies and dealerships to offer repair services. Buildings housing these services differed greatly depending on the location; however, independent mechanics in East Austin were typically located in modest facilities.

Character-defining features of an Auto Repair Shop

- Simple rectangular footprint.
- Utilitarian exterior materials such as brick, concrete block, or corrugated metal.
- Large bay openings across front or side façade, often with overhead garage doors.
- Minimal architectural detailing.

Figure I-126. This is an example of an **auto repair shop** at 2200 East Cesar Chavez (1st) Street. Note the side vehicular bay. This building also has a front canopy, as visible in the 1962 Sanborn map. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

SELF-SERVICE CAR WASH

Although the form sometimes falls under the commercial box category, a car wash is typically more complex. In East Austin, self-service car wash buildings date to the late 1960s.

Character-defining features of a Self-service Car Wash

- Simple rectangular footprint.
- Multiple large open bays for people to park their cars under for cleaning.
- Bays do not have doors and are accessible from the front and rear.
- Small office or automated car wash sometimes located on one side or in center of structure.
- Masonry or metal-frame construction.
- Minimal, if any, stylistic influences.

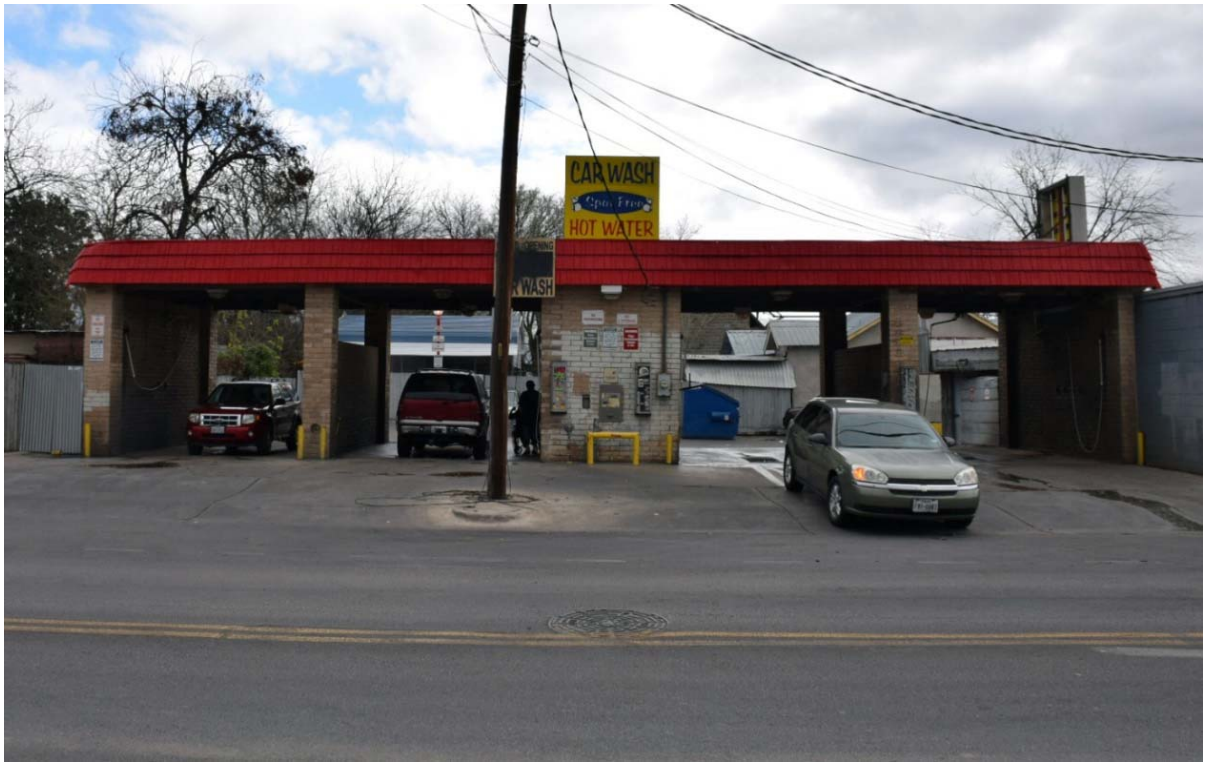


Figure I-127. **Self-service car washes**, such as the one pictured above at 2500 East 7th Street, began to appear in East Austin in the late 1960s. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

MOTEL

This property type category includes roadside buildings that provided temporary living accommodations to travelers. Motels typically are one- or two-story buildings configured in either a rectangular or L-shaped plan. Their rooms are often adjacent to an outside parking area, easily accessible from the road, and offer an alternative to hotels with public lobby areas. In East Austin, however, examples sometimes exhibited Modern influences, but most commonly had no particular architectural style.

Through the years, motels changed as a distinctive building type in East Austin. New ideas about motel design, layout, and operations were refined; by the late 1950s they were substantially larger than those of previous decades, and they often included several multiple-story buildings arranged around a courtyard and centralized parking. Many motels began to place rooms back-to-back, leaving a center core for utilities. Doors and windows faced outside and outer walkways served the rooms. Such design innovations enabled motels to provide 150 to 300 rooms on lots that previously allowed for only 50 to 60 rooms.

Over time, different character-defining features became associated with different companies, but in general, motels in East Austin display the character-defining features listed below.

Character-defining features of a Motel

- A site plan that arranges linear, narrow one- and two-story blocks of rooms around a courtyard or parking lot.
- Outer walkways servicing rooms rather than interior corridors.
- Long porches/balconies.
- An associated building that houses an office.
- Freestanding signs with bold, bright designs adjacent to road.

Figure I-128. Example of a **motel** at 900 East 12th Street. By the late 1950s, motels in East Austin were constructed substantially larger than in previous decades. Most motels had outward facing rooms that opened onto a central courtyard or parking lot. Note the expanded office/lobby on the left. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

OFFICE

Although this form generally falls under commercial box category, the office building sometimes has a more complex form, such as a linear or a massed plan. In East Austin, office buildings are either small single-story buildings that hold the office for a single entity, or large buildings comprised of multiple offices in a two-story building. The 1970s saw changes in how offices were constructed. Each building manifested matching façades on all sides; moreover there was no external differentiation between floor levels, except at the entry (or entries). In East Austin, office buildings were constructed from the late 1950s through 1971 and beyond.

Character-defining features of an Office Building

- Linear or massed plan.
- Varied scale, based on whether one or multiple offices were housed in building.
- Used a small footprint on the overall lot.
- Typically surrounded by parking, sometimes on all sides of building.
- Minimal, if any, stylistic detailing.

Figure I-129. This **office building** at 55 North IH 35 was constructed in 1971 and is an example of a larger massed-plan building. Note the uniform façades that conceal the building's various levels. Only the primary entry shows any differentiation than the rest of the building. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

MORTUARY (FUNERAL HOME)

Although this form sometimes falls under the commercial box category, mortuaries, or funeral homes, constructed in East Austin from the 1930s through 1971 typically have a more complex massed plan. Mortuaries constructed prior to the 1950s typically had few stylistic influences or were built to resemble single-family residences, with business operations on the ground floor and living quarters above. After 1950, mortuaries in East Austin implemented the Modern/International style and constructed long buildings separated from the street by a front lawn, with low and flat rooflines.

Character-defining features of a Mortuary

- Pre-1950 buildings often resembled residential architecture with the business on the bottom floor and living quarters above.
- Post-1950 construction used a massed plan with Modern/International stylistic influences.
- Building set back from street with lawn in front.
- Parking at the rear, out of view of the traveling public.

Figure I-130. This **mortuary**, Mission Funeral Home, was constructed at 1615 East 1st (Cesar Chavez) Street in 1959 in a Modern architectural style. Note the long low roofline, the setback of the building with a green lawn in front, and that the parking lot is hidden from public view. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

WAREHOUSE

A warehouse building is a building for the storage of commercial goods and supplies. Within the East Austin survey area, most warehouses were constructed from 1875 until after 1970. Typically found close to railroads, they often served as distribution centers for goods offloaded from the railroad prior to traveling to retail establishments via truck. They may be freestanding or clustered close together in a strip with shared party walls.

Character-defining features of a Warehouse

- Large utilitarian structure with no stylistic influences.
- Feature large overhead doors for loading and unloading.
- Location near railroad.
- May be concrete masonry construction, wood frame with metal siding, or metal frame with metal siding.
- Minimal architectural detailing, if any.

Figure I-131. This **warehouse** at 411 Chicon Street historically served as a beer warehouse according to Sanborn Maps from 1962. Note the simple form, lack of detailing, large overhead door for loading and unloading, and location near the railroad. The graffiti is a reversible change that does not affect the building's overall integrity. The National Park Service provides guidance for addressing graffiti in *Preservation Brief 38, Removing Graffiti from Historic Masonry* (https://www.nps.gov/tps/how-to-preserve/briefs/38-remove-graffiti.htm). Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.1.1.6. Commercial Outbuilding

GARAGE

Most outbuildings associated with commercial properties in East Austin are used for storage or parking. Automobile garages are auxiliary structures that serve a purpose of shielding automobiles from natural elements.

Character-defining features of a Commercial Garage

- At rear of commercial building, often with access to the rear alley.
- Utilitarian building of wood-frame or masonry construction.
- Little to no stylistic influences.
- Linear buildings with multiple garage bays.

Figure I-132. This **commercial outbuilding, a garage**, is located on the site of the Texaco Oil Depot at 1304 East 4th Street. It is a utilitarian building with minimal stylistic influences, and is located at the rear of the lot, directly behind a mortuary. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.2. Fraternal Buildings

5A.2.1. MASONIC LODGE

Masonic Lodges, or Temples, are affiliated with the Freemasons, a fraternal organization that traces its origins to local fraternities of stonemasons. Materials and ornamentation are based primarily on the date of construction. Within East Austin, Masonic lodges date from 1940 to 1955.

Character-defining features of a Masonic Lodge

- Vary in use of materials and architectural ornamentation.
- Two-story building.
- Front façade offers little visibility from the street.
- The most high style versions employ a temple-front form.

Figure I-133. An example of a temple-front **Masonic lodge** located at 1017 East 11th Street. Note the front façade's use of the Doric order with columns, metope and triglyph frieze, topped by a pediment. All Masonic buildings within the East Austin survey area are two-story buildings with brick cladding, although this is the only building that uses a temple front. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.3. Industrial Buildings

5A.3.1. INDUSTRIAL FABRICATION FACILITY

Industrial fabrication facilities are comprised of one or more buildings that manufacture machinery or construction supplies. In East Austin, these buildings were generally located on or near a railroad in order to facilitate the transportation of finished products to market. Within the East Austin survey area, industrial fabrication facilities were constructed between 1910 and 1968.

Character-defining features of Industrial Fabrication Facility

- Large utilitarian structure with little architectural detailing.
- Location on or near a railroad.
- Metal, concrete, or wood construction.
- Often have multiple garage bays on one or more façades.

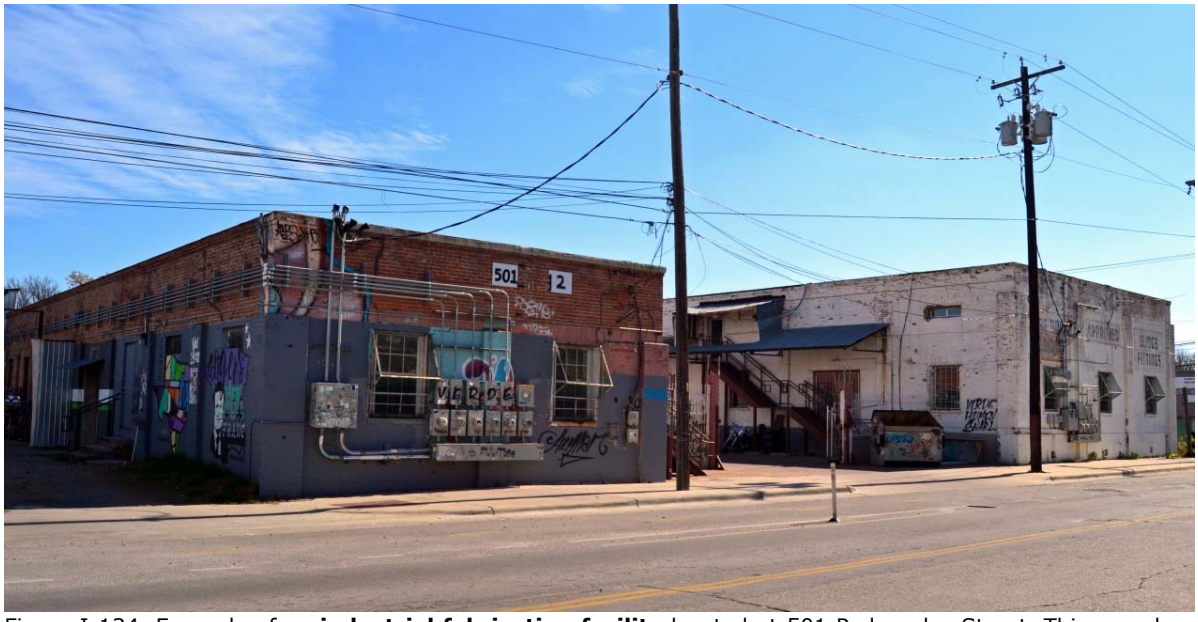


Figure I-134. Example of an **industrial fabrication facility** located at 501 Pedernales Street. This complex is located adjacent to a railroad line. The buildings are large, brick, and utilitarian with no architectural detailing. According to the 1962 Sanborn Map, the complex was used for the fabrication of wire products. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.3.2. INDUSTRIAL MILL

Industrial mills process raw agricultural goods such as corn and cotton. Complexes typically include numerous buildings and structures that function together, and are located on a rail line in order to easily load finished products onto rail cars for distribution elsewhere. The primary building is typically one story with a two-story elevator for loading feed or grain directly onto rail cars. Within the East Austin survey area, one feed mill (built around 1940) is extant.

Character-defining features of an Industrial Mill

- Large utilitarian structure with little architectural detailing.
- One story with a two-story elevator.
- Location on a railroad in order for easy loading of the finished product onto a rail car.
- Metal, concrete, or wood construction.

Figure I-135. Example of an **industrial mill** located at 222 Hidalgo Street. This building is located at the junction of two railroad lines. According to the 1962 Sanborn Map, the building was home to the Home Mix Feed Company, Inc. and consisted of both a feed mill and a warehouse.

5A.3.3. INDUSTRIAL SHOP

An industrial shop is a building used for the repair of large industrial equipment or machinery as well as the offering of industry-related goods and services. In East Austin, industrial shops offered such services as machinery repair, stone cutting, and commercial laundry services. Within the East Austin survey area, industrial shops were constructed between 1915 and 1967.

Character-defining features of an Industrial Shop

- Large utilitarian structure with minimal architectural detailing, save for occasional International or Modern stylistic influences.
- Location near other industrial buildings and complexes.
- Metal, concrete, or wood construction.
- Typically have large windows for ventilation.
- Garage bays may be present on one or two façades.
- Little architectural detailing other than minimal International or Modern stylistic influences.

Figure I-136. This example of an **industrial shop** is located at 310 Comal Street. This building is near other industrial complexes. Note the large windows that surround multiple façades. According to the 1962 Sanborn map, this building was originally used as a laundry facility for a linen supply company, therefore these large windows would have been necessary for ventilation of the steam from the cleaning. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.3.4. INDUSTRIAL STORAGE BUILDING

An industrial storage building is a giant warehouse used for the storage of industrial goods and supplies. Within the East Austin survey area, these storage buildings were constructed around 1920, and typically were found within larger industrial complexes alongside industrial fabrication facilities and industrial shops. Today, the surrounding industrial complex may or may not remain.

Character-defining features of an Industrial Storage Building

- Large utilitarian structure with no stylistic influences.
- Feature large overhead doors for loading and unloading.
- Location within larger industrial complexes.
- Metal or concrete construction, rarely wood.

Figure I-137. Example of an **industrial storage building** located at 500 Chicon Street. This building originally functioned as the Oil Storage Warehouse within the complex of the Gulf Refining Co., as shown on 1935 Sanborn Maps. It is a concrete frame building that is utilitarian in design and lacks architectural stylistic influences. The contemporary canopy and entrance steps accommodate its recent adaptive reuse for office space. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.3.5. INDUSTRIAL PROCESSING FACILITY

Industrial processing facilities process raw ingredients into marketable food products for human consumption. Buildings consist of multiple forms and sections that function together as a whole, and are located along or near a railroad facility to facilitate the transportation of finished goods to market. Within the East Austin survey area, industrial processing facilities date from 1950 to about 1965 and have Modern and New Formalism stylistic influences.

Character-defining features of an Industrial Processing Facility

- Large, complex buildings with utilitarian sections for processing, as well as office space that exhibits popular styles from the construction period.
- Location on or near a railroad in order for easy transportation of finished product by railway.
- Metal or concrete block construction.
- Large garage bays on multiple façades.
- Building typically has few windows.

Figure I-138. Example of an **industrial processing facility** located at 2617 East 6th Street. According to the 1962 Sanborn map, this building was originally used as a food refining plant. Note the Modern style office at the forefront of the picture, and the metal-clad utilitarian processing facility at the rear. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.4. Institutional Buildings

5A.4.1. EDUCATIONAL: COLLEGE AND GRADE SCHOOL BUILDINGS

Educational properties within the East Austin survey area are comprised of both grade school buildings (all levels) and college buildings. Grade school buildings typically consist of a single large building with multiple levels and wings on a single lot. All school functions, including administrative and teaching activities, are housed under the same roof. College buildings, on the other hand, are generally smaller single or multi-level buildings that together make up a larger complex. Each building serves a different function; as such, administration activities are located in different buildings than classrooms. Within the East Austin survey area, educational buildings were constructed between 1900 and 1967.

Character-defining features of Educational Buildings

- Buildings are set apart from the street grid on a large parcel of land.
- Grade-school buildings are large multi-level buildings with multiple wings.
- College buildings consist of smaller individual buildings that, as a whole, make up a larger complex.
- Stylistic influences popular at time of construction, including Prairie, Art Deco, Modern, and Ranch.

Figure I-139. This building, located at 900 Chicon Street, is an example of a **college building** in the East Austin Survey Area. Part of the Huston-Tillotson College, Evans Hall historically served as the administration building. The 1911 building exhibits Prairie style influences. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

Figure I-140. This building, located at 1712 East 11th Street, is an example of a **grade school building** in the East Austin Survey Area. The current Blackshear Elementary School building was constructed in 1948 in the era's popular Art Deco style. It is a two-story building with multiple wings that house the school's different functions. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.4.2. GOVERNMENT SERVICES BUILDING

Government services buildings were constructed to contain governmental offices and/or services such as post offices and fire stations. Within East Austin, government services buildings were all constructed between 1940 and 1965.

Character-defining features of a Government Services Building

- One-story building with modest architectural ornamentation such as Art Déco or Modern.
- Sits on a large lot with a parking lot surrounding one or multiple sides.
- Brick cladding.
- Resembles a commercial box building.

Figure I-141. This post office building, located at 1916 East 6th Street, is an example of a **government services building**. Constructed in 1963, this Modern style building uses a long low form that resembles a Commercial Box. Note the large lot the building resides upon with a substantial portion of the lot devoted to parking. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.4.2.1. Healthcare Facility

Healthcare facilities include buildings that house services related to the prevention, treatment, and management of illnesses and the preservation of mental and physical well-being. Specifically, building types that fall within this category include hospitals, clinics, and doctors' offices. Two health clinics within the East Austin survey area were constructed in 1969.

Character-defining features of a Healthcare Facility

- A large building with minimal architectural detailing.
- Limited window space allowing public visibility into interior.
- Surrounded by large parking lots.

Figure I-142. This is an example of a **healthcare facility**, located at 1113 East Cesar Chavez (1st) Street. It is a large building with minimal architectural detailing, and a large parking lot adjacent to the building. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.4.2.2. Library

A library is a building that contains books, periodicals, and other reading materials for use by the public. One historic-age library, the George Washington Carver Library, is located within the East Austin survey area. Constructed in 1926 by Hugo Miller, the brick-clad building is a small one-story rectangular building with Colonial Revival stylistic influences. The building has a symmetrical façade with a centralized entry with sidelights and a fanlight under a gabled entry porch. Moved to its current location in 1933, the building sits on a large lot that would have originally allowed for ample parking around the building.

Character-defining features of a Library

- One-story building that exhibits the popular architectural styles from the period of construction.
- Sits on a large lot with a parking lot surrounding one or multiple sides.

Figure I-143. The George Washington Carver **Library** located at 1165 Angelina Street, was constructed in 1926 and moved to its current location in 1933. Note the use of the Colonial Revival style in the entryway and cupola on top of the building. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.4.2.3. Institutional Office

Institutional offices are buildings that house offices for non-profit agencies and public or private institutions, such as a teachers association or a cemetery. These buildings are similar in form and massing to commercial offices. In East Austin, institutional offices date from 1915 to 1950.

Character-defining features of an Institutional Office

- Linear or massed plan.
- Small single-story buildings that hold the office for a single entity.
- Building is a small footprint on a large lot.
- Typically surrounded by parking, sometimes on all sides of building.
- Used architectural styles popular during the period of construction.

Figure I-144. Example of an **institutional office** building located at 1191 Navasota Street. Designed by John S. Chase, this building was constructed in 1950 for the Colored Teachers State Association of Texas. Chase designed the building in the popular Ranch style; note the long low roofline and overhanging eaves. Other distinct features include the projecting entry roof and porch column, the projecting columns between paired windows, and the use of narrow-cut fieldstone for the primary façade. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.4.2.4. Public Housing

Public housing buildings are intended to function as places for individuals to receive living assistance and support. Public housing is historically organized on large campuses and consists of multiple two-story buildings with different forms and uses. By the 1970s, however, the building form changed. Instead of multiple buildings spread across a large campus, public housing was constructed in the form of a high-rise high-density building that used less land space. Within the East Austin survey area, public housing buildings were constructed from 1935 to 1965.

Character-defining features of Public Housing

- Multiple two-story buildings arranged around large campus.
- Post-1960 examples are high-density developments with multiple services housed under one roof.

Figure I-145. Constructed in 1939, Rosewood Courts is an example of **public housing**. Note the two-story buildings arranged around a large campus. The buildings have minimal architectural style detailing and are utilitarian in design. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.4.3. PUBLIC SERVICE BUILDINGS

Public service buildings house departments that are organized by a government or local entity to provide a service to the people of a community. Within the East Austin survey area, one public service building is present, constructed around 1960, which historically housed the City of Austin Water and Sewer Department.

Character-defining features of a Public Service Building

- One-story utilitarian building with no stylistic influences.
- Located on a large parcel, surrounded by a parking lot.

Figure I-146. This is an example of a **public service building** in East Austin. It is located at 900 Nile Street and is a one-story utilitarian building with no stylistic influences. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.5. Recreational Buildings

Recreational buildings vary in physical form and appearance more than any other property type. Used as gathering places accessible to the public, examples of recreational properties found within the East Austin survey area include a swimming pool, bath house, an auditorium, a community center, park offices, and several free-standing restroom buildings.

Character-defining features of Recreational Buildings

- Differ in size and form, based on use.
- Typically one-story massed plan buildings.
- Used stylistic influences popular during the era of construction, including Mission Revival and Modern.

Figure I-147. This former community center is an example of a **recreational building** at 1192 Angelina Street. Constructed in 1929, it was historically known as the Howson Community Center. The building has Mission Revival stylistic influences and is currently used as a private residence. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.6. Religious Buildings

5A.6.1. CHURCH

Churches and church-related outbuildings are the only type of religious resource located within the East Austin survey area. A church is a building in which people gather for public worship. Within the East Austin survey area, churches were constructed between 1890 and 1970.

Character-defining features of a Religious Building (Church)

- Size, scale, and materials vary.
- Architectural styles vary, but Colonial, Gothic, Mission Revival, and Modern styles are the most popular.
- Typically a linear building with a front-gable or flat roof.
- Many examples have a steeple at the pitch of the roof at the front façade or a tower at the side.
- Entries are typically located centrally on the front façade and are comprised of a set of double doors.
- A porch or awning often covers the entry doors.
- Windows are typically located on the front façade, as well as evenly spaced on the side façades.

Figure I-148. Example of a Gothic-Revival **church** located at 1164 San Bernard Street. This church, constructed in 1929, has a rose window, four spires that project from the side tower, as well as pointed arch windows. These features are typical of the Gothic Revival style. This is one of the more highly stylized churches in East Austin. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.6.1.1. Religious Outbuilding

While the main building on a religious property is generally the church, auxiliary religious buildings are usually located behind or to the side of the church, often forming a central courtyard between the buildings in a complex. Within the East Austin survey area, religious outbuildings were constructed between 1930 and 1970.

Character-defining features of a Religious Outbuilding

- Typically located behind or to the side of the main church, often forming a central courtyard between the buildings.
- Sometimes linked together with corridors and breezeways.
- Utilitarian in form with minimal stylistic influences.
- Cladding consists of brick, horizontal wood, or a combination of both.

Figure I-149. This building, located at 1206 East 9th Street, is an example of a **religious outbuilding**. Constructed around 1965 as a parish office, the building is located directly behind the church and has no stylistic influences. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7. Residential Buildings

5A.7.1. MULTI-FAMILY RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS

5A.7.1.1. Apartment Building

Apartment buildings are large residential buildings comprised of individual living units and have common entrances and hallways. Within the East Austin survey area, apartment buildings were constructed between 1948 and 1971.

Character-defining features of an Apartment Building

- Typically located at edge of a subdivision or along a commercial thoroughfare.
- Stylistic influences, if present, include Ranch and Modern.
- Later versions often have entries on different façades.

Figure I-150. This is an example of an **apartment building**, located at 2401 Manor Road. Constructed in 1961, the building has minimal 1960s Contemporary stylistic influences, and is located along a major thoroughfare. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.1.2. Duplex/Triplex/Fourplex House

Duplex, triplex, and fourplex houses are domestic buildings that resemble single-family homes, but are intended for use by more than one family. Within the East Austin survey area, most multi-family housing structures have symmetrical façades with individual entries for each family, although later versions often have entrances on separate façades of the building. Duplex, triplex, and fourplex buildings were constructed between 1910 and 1969.

Character-defining features of a Duplex/Triplex/Fourplex House

- Resemble single-family homes in massing and form.
- Wood-frame buildings with wood, brick, or stucco siding.
- Stylistic influences depend on period of construction.
- Typically have symmetrical façades with separate entries.

Figure I-151. This is an example of a **duplex** located at 2003 East 16th Street. Constructed in 1947, this duplex has Craftsman stylistic influences. Note the symmetrical front façade with two entries. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2. SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS

Single-family houses characteristically are the most prevalent subtype of domestic buildings constructed within East Austin's historic period. Documented examples vary significantly in size, scale, materials, and ornamentation due to the myriad ethnic and economic backgrounds located within the survey area over many decades. Although a few high-style examples of various house types can be found within the East Austin survey, the area is more typified by simple vernacular residences. Single-family residential buildings were constructed in East Austin between 1841 and 1971.

Character-defining features of a Single-family Residential Building

- Orientation toward the street.
- Set back from street with landscaped front yards.

See the following pages for the many variations of the single-family residential building types found in the East Austin Survey.

5A.7.2.1. Bungalow

The bungalow plan type was the most common form of single-family domestic buildings constructed in the early 1900s. In East Austin, bungalows were constructed from 1900 to 1970.

Character-defining features of a Bungalow

- One-story in height with low-pitched roof, broad overhanging eaves, and prominent porches.
- Roofs could be front-gabled, cross-gabled, side-gabled, or hipped.
- Typically demonstrates Craftsman stylistic influences, although Prairie and Period Revival styles also are popular.
- Typically have exposed rafter tails, low-pitched rooflines, and large porch areas.

Figure I-152. Example of a **bungalow** located at 1001 East 13th Street. The exposed rafter tails, decorative brackets, and battered porch columns all demonstrate Craftsman style influences. This building, located within the Swedish Hill neighborhood, is larger and more highly stylized than most bungalows in the project area. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.2. Center-passage

A center-passage is characterized by a one-room deep, linear, rectangular plan with a side-gabled or front-gabled roof. Within the East Austin survey area, center-passage residences were constructed from 1841 to 1950.

Character-defining features of a Center-passage

- One-room-deep, linear, rectangular plan with a side-gabled or front-gabled roof.
- If present, chimneys are typically located at gable ends.
- Centrally located entry door.
- Either wood-frame or masonry construction.
- Shed-roof additions to rear façade often added when more room was needed.

Figure I-153. Example of a **center-passage house** located at 1701 East 17th Street. Note the centrally located door, characteristic of a center-passage. Unlike most center-passage houses, this example has a centrally-located chimney. Originally one room deep, this building has several additions constructed to the rear as more space became needed. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.3. Foursquare

The foursquare is a distinctive house form with cube-like massing created by a floorplan that is two rooms wide and two rooms deep. Within East Austin, foursquare houses were constructed from 1907 to 1947.

Character-defining features of a Foursquare

- A two-story building with a low-pitched hipped roof.
- Asymmetrical fenestration pattern with the entry offset to one end of the primary façade.
- Typically has a one-story porch that stretches the primary façade's full length.
- Stylistic influences include Prairie School, Craftsman, or Classical Revival.

Figure I-154. Example of a **foursquare house** located at 1801 East Cesar Chavez (1st) Street. This building was constructed in 1907 and has features typical of the foursquare form, including an offset entry, a low-pitched hipped roof atop a two-story building, and a full-length porch along the primary façade's first story. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.4. Hall-and-parlor

The hall-and-parlor was a dominant type of folk housing across the southern United States during the second half of the 1800s. Construction of the type remained common through the first two decades of the 1900s, particularly in lower-income areas where vernacular house types were prevalent. Within the East Austin survey, hall-and-parlors were constructed from 1872 to 1939.

Character-defining features of a Hall-and-parlor

- Linear plan with a side-gabled roof that is two rooms wide and one room deep.
- Early examples often have a chimney at one or both gable ends; later examples have chimneys or stovepipes towards the house's rear.
- Typically horizontal wood siding or board-and-batten siding.
- Common variations are prominent front porches and shed-roof extensions.
- A "Cumberland" house is common sub-type with two front entries each entering a separate room.
- Additions often constructed to accommodate additional family members.

Figure I-155. This is an example of a **hall-and-parlor house** located at 1171 Bernard Street. Constructed in 1877 and known as the Thompson House, it uses the "Cumberland" form, with two separate entries that each enters a different room. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.5. Hipped-roof Square Plan

Constructed from 1900 to 1960, the hipped-roof square-plan house is another popular form found within the East Austin study area.

Character-defining features of a Hipped-roof Square Plan

- Form is nearly square with four rooms that result in a distinctive, boxy appearance.
- High-pitched hipped or pyramidal roof.
- Similar to foursquare, except only one or one-and-a-half stories in height.
- Most examples have a partial-width or full-width porch across the front façade, sometimes wrapping around to a side façade.
- Wood-frame construction with wood siding and limited architectural stylistic influences.

Figure I-156. This **hipped-roof square-plan house** is located at 1501 East Cesar Chavez (1st) Street. Constructed in 1910, it has the character-defining features of the form, including a high-pitched hipped-roof atop an almost square building and a full-width porch across the front façade. In addition, the building is one story and sided with horizontal wood board. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.6. I-House

Most common in the Midwest, the I-house is occasionally found in Texas. The I-house, with its two stories of height and grander appearance than other folk housing types, often indicated the residents' wealth or social standing. In East Austin, I-houses were constructed from 1888 to 1949.

Character-defining features of an I-House

- A two-story version of a center-passage.
- Linear plan with a symmetrical entry, central hallway, and gable-end chimneys.

Figure I-157. Example of an **I-House** located at 1315 East 12th Street. Constructed in 1928, it was listed in the 1951 Green Book as Porter's Tourist Home. The two-story building has typical features of an I-house, including a centralized entry, a symmetrical façade, and a central hallway. In lieu of gable-end chimneys, the house has an internally located central chimney, which is a common variation to the form. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.7. Irregular Plan

During the last quarter of the 1800s, house forms in East Austin began to depart from the symmetry and regularity of rectangular and square folk plans. The Victorian-era desire for irregular and "picturesque" forms, combined with advancing balloon-frame construction techniques, allowed for a variety of irregular house shapes.

The irregular-plan house often allowed for greater space than possible with a linear plan, with extra rooms and porch frontage from projecting wings. While many irregular-plan houses have little or no ornamentation, its form and style could be elaborated to the level of a Victorian mansion, with substantial detailing and sophistication. Within the East Austin survey area, these houses date from 1886 to 1945.

Character-defining features of an Irregular Plan

- Complex rooflines with intersecting gables and projecting wings.
- Examples can be plain with little ornamentation or elaborate with substantial decoration.
- Stylistic influences include Queen Anne, Folk Victorian, National Folk, and Ranch.

Figure I-158. This is an example of an **irregular-plan house** located at 1701 Poquito Street. Constructed about 1895, this National Folk style house has a complex roofline with intersecting gables and projecting wings. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.8. L-plan

The L-plan was East Austin's most common house type between 1875 and 1910. Its distinctive form applies an offset front-facing gable to the basic side-gabled or hipped-roof center-passage house type. The L-plan's offset gable reflects the late 1800s desire for asymmetry. The two intersecting gables form an "L," with the offset gabled wing extending forward. The off-center projecting gable often continues towards the building's rear as well. Within the East Austin survey area, these houses date from 1875 to 1950.

Character-defining features of an L-plan

- Side-gabled or hipped-roof linear building with a projecting secondary front-gabled wing.
- One or one-and-a-half stories in height.
- A shed-roof porch typically extends across the main wing of the house.
- Primary door is typically located at the center of the side gable.
- Generally wood-frame construction with wood weatherboard or board-and-batten siding.
- Stylistic influences include Queen Anne, Folk Victorian, National Folk, Greek Revival, National Folk, Italianate, Craftsman, and Minimal Traditional.

Figure I-159. Located at 1001 East 8th Street, this is an example of an **L-plan house**. Known as the Rogers-Bell House, it is a one-story side-gabled building with a projecting secondary front-gabled wing. Other features of the L-plan present in this house include a shed-roof porch that extends across the house's main wing and Folk Victorian stylistic influences. The use of brick cladding is a popular variation of the form. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.9. Massed-plan

A small percentage of houses within the East Austin survey area have a massed plan. These houses have no common plan or roof form and do not fit into any of the defined building types. Massed-plan houses first appeared within the East Austin survey area in 1900 and were constructed until 1971.

Character-defining features of a Massed-plan

- One or two stories in height.
- No common plan or roof form.
- Typically have no stylistic influences, although National Folk, Mission Revival, and Contemporary are sometimes present.

Figure I-160. Example of a **massed-plan house** located at 2403 East 14th Street. The house, which was constructed in 1947, does not fit into any of the defined building types. Many times, these houses exhibit numerous alterations that have changed the original form to an extent that the original form is no longer visible. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.10. Modified Hipped-roof Square Plan

The modified hipped-roof square plan is similar to the hipped-roof square plan discussed in *Section 5A.7.2.5*, except that it has an inset porch underneath the roofline. Within the East Austin survey area, modified hipped-roof square-plan houses were constructed between 1900 and 1968.

Character-defining features of a Modified Hipped-roof Square Plan

- Form is rectangular with an inset porch and an adjacent front room larger than the rest.
- High-pitched hipped or pyramidal roof.
- One or one-and-a-half stories in height.
- Wood-frame construction with wood siding and limited architectural stylistic influences.

Figure I-161. This is an example of a **modified hipped-roof square-plan house** located at 1612 New York Avenue. The house, which was constructed around 1900, is a square plan with a steeply pitched hipped roof and an inset porch. Other features present include minimal National Folk influences and horizontal wood board siding. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.11. Modified L-plan (Hipped with Cross Gables)

The modified L-plan is an elaboration of the cross-gabled L-plan form, discussed in *Section 5A.7.2.8*. Popular between around 1890 and 1910, the modified L-plan type continued the popular trend towards vertical and asymmetrical forms while providing more interior space than the L-plan or other irregular-plan houses. The modified L-plan varies in ornateness. Examples range from single-story homes lacking stylistic influences to exuberantly detailed multi-story mansions. In East Austin, modified L-plans were constructed between 1876 and 1940.

Character-defining features of Modified L-plan

- Steeply-pitched hipped-roof above the central section, with a lower gable extending off this section.
- One or two stories in height.
- Prevalent stylistic influences include Queen Anne, Folk Victorian, National Folk, and Craftsman.

Figure I-162. Example of a **modified L-plan house** located at 2111 East Chicon Street. This Folk Victorian style house was constructed around 1890. Typical features of the modified L-plan include the steeply-pitched hipped roof above the central section, and lower gables extending off the hipped roof. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.12. Ranch House

The ranch house appeared in East Austin around 1940. Its form emphasized an elongated and flattened appearance in relation to its surroundings. High style, or "traditional," ranch houses were most common prior to 1960. Traditional ranch houses were usually constructed on wide lots, with expansive front yards and landscaping designed to accentuate the house's horizontality. Later ranch houses, constructed in the late 1950s and 1960s, sometimes display stylistic influences taken from earlier Period Revival styles. The use of Colonial Revival-inspired details, such as shutters and pedimented door surrounds, became common by the 1960s.

Many characteristics of traditional ranch houses were adapted for the more modest mass-produced residential designs used in postwar America. Often set on smaller lots, these houses did not have the space needed to project a strong linear appearance set back on a large landscape. However, they retained the type's basic features, including a linear plan and a low-pitched hipped or side-gabled roof. Stone or brick masonry veneer may be present only on the public façade, or may be eschewed altogether in favor of more economical wood or synthetic siding. Garages may or may not be present, and are more likely to face the street façade than those found on traditional ranch examples. Due to the lack of linear space available on lots, postwar ranch-inspired houses were given additional depth and massing while retaining basic features such as lower-pitched rooflines. In East Austin, ranch houses were constructed between 1940 and 1971.

Character-defining features of a Ranch House

- Low-pitched side-gabled or hipped roof with wide boxed eaves.
- Stone or brick veneer exterior wall materials.
- Windows may be casement or single-hung, often paired or ribboned bands.
- Garages are present and constructed as part of the building, as a whole.
- Porches, if present, are limited to a small inset entry overhang.
- One-story building with a linear plan, sometimes accented by a projecting offset wing.

Figure I-163. Located at 2305 East 21st Street, this is an example of a **ranch house**. Characteristics of the form include a long low roof with wide eaves atop a linear plan house. A combination of fieldstone and horizontal wood board veneer, and paired casement windows are also character-defining features of the form. A common variation is the presence of an oversized chimney on a main façade of the building. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.13. Shotgun House

The linear "shotgun" house plan is a traditional form built from the 1870s to the 1920s, and was popular as an economical and simple-to-construct residential type. Within the East Austin survey area, shotgun houses were constructed between 1900 and 1936.

Character-defining features of a Shotgun House

- Narrow linear plan, measuring one room in width and extending back for two or three rooms.
- One story in height.
- Rooflines are typically front-gabled, but may also be hipped.
- Chimneys or stovepipes, if present, are centrally located.
- Board-and-batten wood siding is the most common veneer.
- Minimal stylistic detailing is present, if any.

Figure I-164. This example of a **shotgun house** is located at 1408 Bob Harrison Street. Constructed in 1937, the house is a one-story building that is one room wide and two rooms deep. Although the original windows have been partially replaced, the building's original form and materials remain largely intact. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.14. Split-level

The split-level form appeared in East Austin in the late 1950s as a two-story alternative to the ranch house. Within the East Austin survey, split-level houses were constructed from 1958 to 1967.

Character-defining features of a Split-level

- Low-pitched side-gabled or hipped roof with wide boxed eaves.
- A second story located over half of the first story.
- Stone, masonry, or wood board siding.
- Typically little or no stylistic influences, although Colonial Revival influences are sometimes present.

Figure I-165. Example of a **split-level house** located at 1905 South L. Davis Avenue. Note the wide eaves and the use of multiple materials for cladding. Like many split-level houses, this house is located on a slope with the garage located at the lowest level and the primary entry located within the middle level. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.15. Two-story Center-hall Plan

The two-story center-hall plan, also known as the Georgian plan, is derived from a common national folk plan and was used for vernacular buildings through all eras of domestic construction in East Austin. The plan's popularity increased from 1910 to 1940 with the rise of the Colonial Revival style. The two-story center-hall plan is closely related to the foursquare plan, a distinctive house form of the early 1900s; however, the foursquare is distinctive because it has an offset entry that opens directly onto the parlor. Within the East Austin survey, two-story center-hall houses were constructed between 1875 and 1950.

Character-defining features of a Two-story Center-hall Plan

- Cube-like massing that is two stories in height.
- Hipped roof with a low pitch and overhanging eaves.
- Symmetrical fenestration pattern with door located at center.
- Stone, brick, stucco, or wood siding.
- One-story porch often stretches the primary façade's full length.
- Stylistic influences include Prairie School, Craftsman, Colonial Revival, and National Folk.

Figure I-166. Located at 1416 East 12th Street, this is an example of a **two-story center-hall plan**. Constructed in 1908, the two-story I. Q. Hurdle House has a cube-like massing with a symmetrical façade and a central entry, characteristics of the two-story center-hall form. Note the lack of architectural ornamentation and the use of horizontal wood board cladding. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.16. U-plan

The advent of balloon framing and pre-cut lumber allowed for a wide variety of irregular floor plans and roof shapes. Consequently, a number of less-common irregular-plan variants, including the U-plan, were constructed in the early 1900s. Within the East Austin survey, U-plan houses were constructed from 1905 to 1940.

Character-defining features of a U-plan

- Main-side gable with two projecting front gables, one on each end of the house.
- A porch often extends between the two front gables.
- Wood-frame construction with wood board siding.
- Decorative features, if present, may include jigsaw or turned-wood ornament.

Figure I-167. Example of a **U-plan house** located at 1005 East 8th Street. Constructed in 1906, the house exhibits Folk Victorian influences with the fish-scale wood shingles in the gabled-ends, the jigsawn gable ornament, and the turned wood posts. Note the two gabled-ends and the central porch extending between the gables, all features of the U-plan. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.17. Trailer

A trailer house, otherwise known as a mobile home, is a prefabricated and inexpensive form of housing that appeared within the East Austin survey area in the early 1970s. Designed to be moveable, they are often placed at the rear or side of a lot with an existing house. Within the East Austin survey, trailers date to 1970 and 1971.

Character-defining features of a Trailer

- Linear plan, allowing for placement on narrow lots.
- Factory-built.
- Vinyl or metal siding.
- No stylistic influences.

Figure I-168. Example of a **trailer** located at 2605 East 4th Street. This building form was designed to be moveable, with a linear plan that works well on narrow lots. Note the front porch addition, a common feature constructed to show the structure's permanency. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.7.2.18. Residential Outbuilding

BACK HOUSE

Back houses are single-family residences located behind a main house, typically at the rear of the lot. While most back houses open onto the alley and allow for parking along the alleyway, some houses only provide access from the main street, forcing the occupant to pass by the main house in order to reach the back house. Backhouses served multiple purposes, including lodging for servants or as rental property to bring in extra income. Within East Austin, back houses date from 1900 to 1968.

Character-defining features of a Back House

- At rear of main house, often with access to the rear alley.
- One or two stories in height with a rectangular plan and wood siding.
- Hipped or gable roof.
- Little to no stylistic influences.

Figure I-169. Example of a **back house** located at 1908 East 16th Street. Note that the entry faces the alley, and there is space for parking alongside the house. Characteristic of back houses, this house also has a rectangular plan and horizontal wood siding. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

CARPORT

A carport is an open-sided structure with a roof that provides vehicle cover. Within the East Austin survey area, carports were constructed from 1935 to 1952.

Character-defining features of a Carport

- Located to the main house's side or rear, usually at the end of a driveway.
- Open-sided structures with a flat or slightly gabled roof.
- Sometimes have enclosed storage area at end or on one side.
- No stylistic influences.

Figure I-170. Example of a **carport**, located at 1307 East 2nd Street. This carport is located at the rear of the lot, next to the driveway. Note enclosed space for storage at the end of the structure. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

CELLAR

Cellars are typically used for multiple purposes, including food storage, wine storage, and as a storm shelter. There is one cellar in East Austin dating to approximately 1935. This structure has combination wood and brick siding, a front-gabled roof, and a front entry without a door.

Character-defining features of a Cellar

- Small wood-frame structures with no stylistic influences.
- A structure built into the ground and usually part of a basement, although sometimes constructed as a separate structure.

Figure I-171. Example of a **cellar** located at 1602 East Cesar Chavez (1st) Street. It is a wood-frame structure clad in wood board and brick with no stylistic influences. The open door likely leads to a staircase that extends into an underground room with a door. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

GARAGE

The garage, a building constructed to house vehicles, is the most common example of a residential outbuilding property type. Within East Austin, garages were constructed from 1900 to around 1970.

Character-defining features of a Garage

- One-room building with a rectangular plan and a gabled roof.
- Exterior materials are typically weatherboard, board-and-batten, or metal siding.
- Little to no stylistic detailing.
- Typically located behind and to one side of main house, and connected to the street by a driveway.

Figure I-172. Example of a **garage** located at 2201 East Cesar Chavez (1st) Street. Standing at the rear of the main house, it is a one-room wood-frame structure clad in wood siding with no stylistic influences. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

GARAGE APARTMENT

The garage apartment is similar to a garage, except that it is a larger two-story building with living space on the top floor. Due to its expanded size, the first level typically has parking available for multiple vehicles. Within East Austin, garage apartments were constructed from 1910 to around 1965.

Character-defining features of a Garage Apartment

- Large two-story building with parking at the first level and an apartment located above.
- Rectangular in size with no stylistic detailing.
- Construction is either wood-frame or masonry.
- Roofs are hipped or gabled.
- Typically located at rear of main house and/or to one side, connected to the street by a driveway or rear alley.

Figure I-173. This example of a **garage apartment** is located at 1717 East Cesar Chavez (1st) Street. Standing at the rear of the main house along the alley, it is a two-story rectangular building with a hipped roof. Note the infilled garage bays that would have at one time opened onto the rear alley. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5A.8. Railroad-related Buildings

5A.8.1. TRAIN DEPOT

Train depots are buildings where trains load and unload passengers. There is one extant historic-age depot within East Austin that dates to around 1890.

Character-defining features of a Train Depot

- Located parallel to railroad tracks.
- One-story linear building with a gabled-roof.
- Wood-frame construction and wood board siding.
- Minimal stylistic details, if any.

Figure I-174. One **train depot** is extant in East Austin, located at 1001 Lydia Street. This resource was moved to its current location after 1962, the date of the last Sanborn map available for the area. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5B. SITES

5B.1. Cemetery

A cemetery is a site associated with human burials. Within the East Austin survey area there are two cemeteries, the Texas State Cemetery, dating to around 1850, and the Oakwood Cemetery, which also dates to around 1850 but includes an annex from 1914.

Character-defining features of a Cemetery

- Burial spots located on large and small parcels of public and private land.
- Most cemeteries consist of graves typically marked with headstones, a circulation network, and maintenance buildings.
- Some cemeteries also have specialized burial chambers such as a mausoleum.

Figure I-175. The Oakwood Annex Cemetery is located at 1601 Comal Street. It is a large public **cemetery** located on city-owned land. Note the entrance gates and front office/maintenance building, features common to public cemeteries. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5B.2. Fish Hatchery

A fish hatchery is a governmental site where fish are raised for the purpose of stocking ponds and lakes. Within East Austin there is one fish hatchery, dating to around 1940. According to its onsite marker, "pumps installed in the Colorado River fed irrigation ditches that filled 19 ponds used to raise bass, sunfish, and channel catfish. The fish were then transported by trucks to lakes and farm/ranch ponds in 39 counties to 'provide 100,000 days of healthful outdoor fishing for Americans of all ages.'"

Character-defining features of a Fish Hatchery

- A large site with multiple ponds for raising fish.
- Multiple buildings scattered throughout the site for offices, workshops, and labs.
- Location near a large water source.

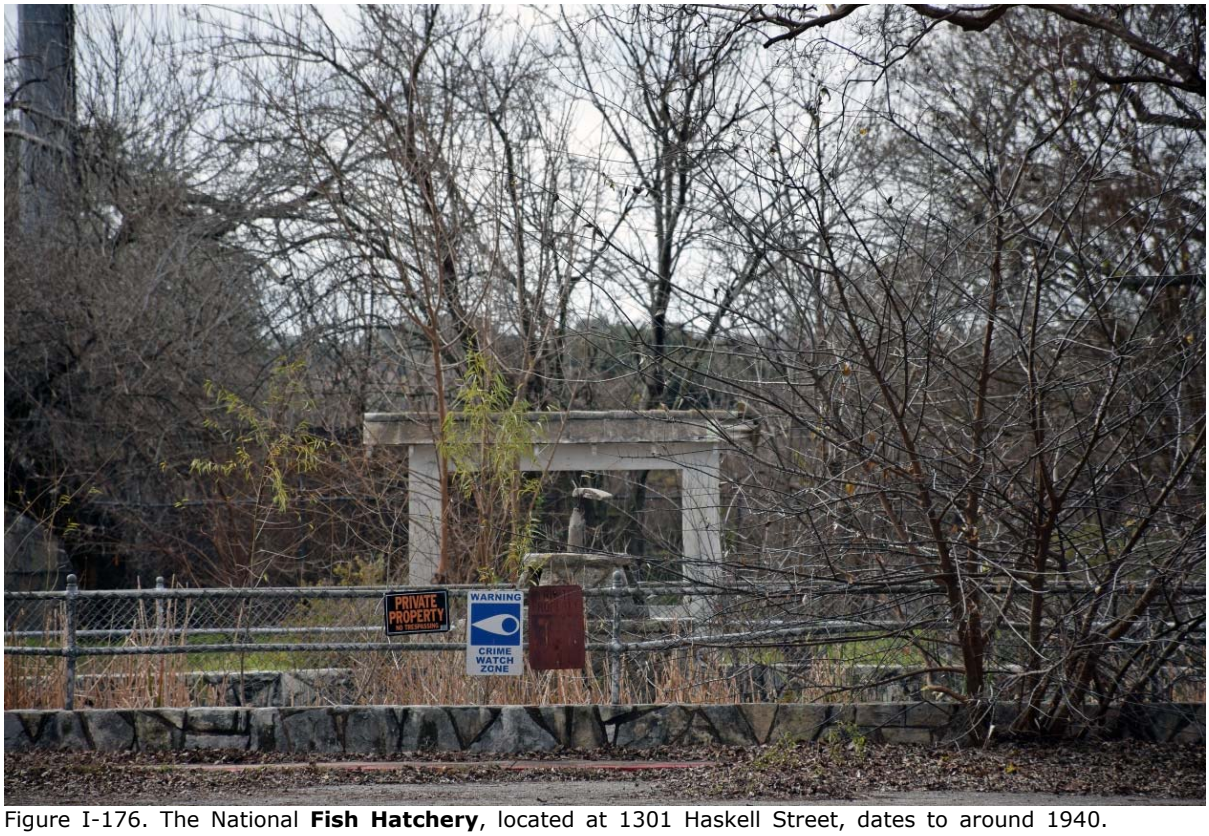


Figure I-176. The National **Fish Hatchery**, located at 1301 Haskell Street, dates to around 1940. Currently vacant, the original features of the site, including the water pumps and irrigation ditches, remain intact. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5B.3. Recreational Site

Resources within this property type are related to the pursuit of leisure activities and to the fostering of the general public's knowledge and appreciation of cultural and historic resources. These types of resources typically include open spaces with natural landscape features, enhanced for recreation with designed landscape features such as roads, trails, gardens, and ponds. Oftentimes recreational sites also include objects and structures such as play equipment, gazebos, canopies, picnic tables, benches, restrooms, and markers. The design of recreational sites typically is naturalistic or Romantic, responding to the natural landscape features of the site. Within the East Austin recreational sites date from 1931 to roughly 1970.

Character-defining features of a Recreational Site

- Differ in size and form, based on use.
- Includes athletic fields, parks, playgrounds, and pools.

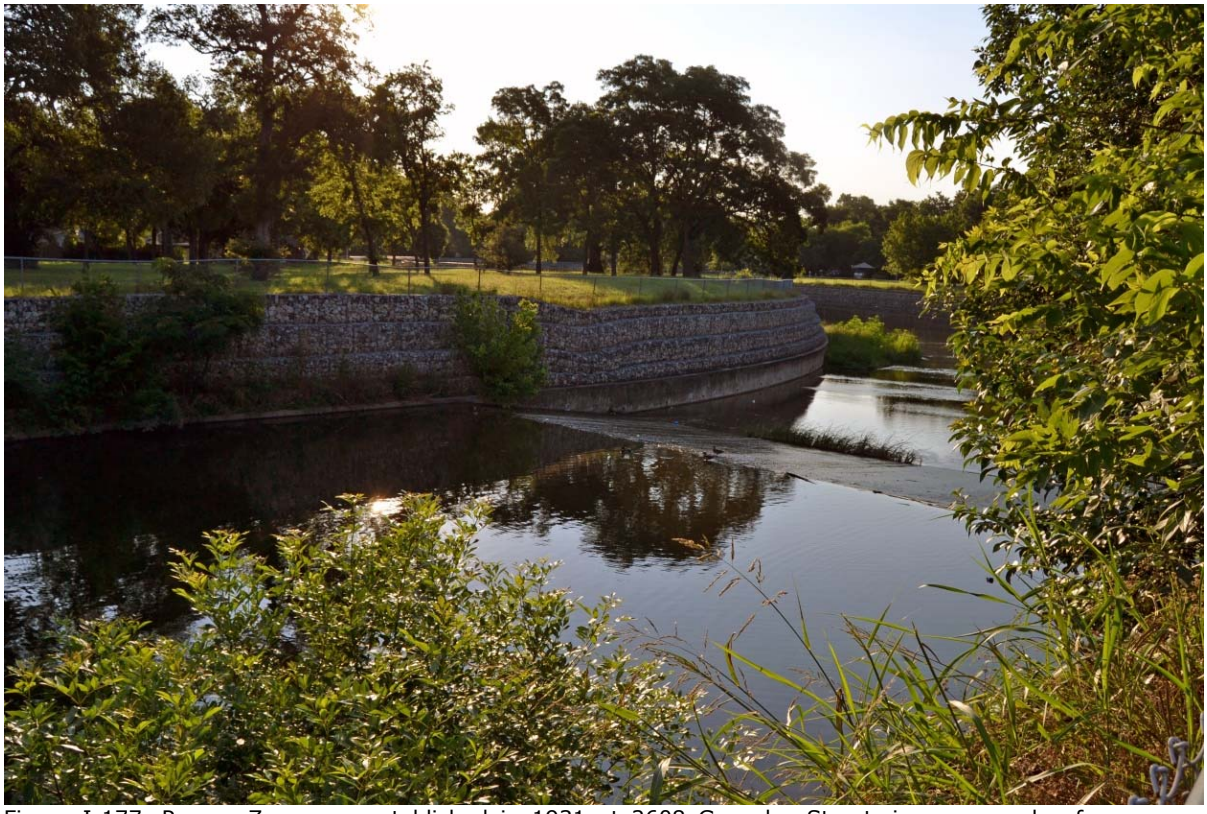


Figure I-177. Parque Zaragoza, established in 1931 at 2608 Gonzales Street, is an example of a **recreational site**. Note how the natural landscape was enhanced with the construction of masonry walls to prevent erosion and define the creek. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5C. STRUCTURES

5C.1. Irrigation

5C.1.1. CISTERN

Cisterns are structures that collect rainwater for household use. They are commonly located near the main house, often adjacent to a windmill. Cisterns may be fed from the roof and eaves associated with the main house, and the cistern's water may be used for bathing, cleaning, and drinking. The cistern's size depends on the needs of the residents as well as property size. By the 1920s, metal cisterns became more popular than masonry or wood versions. There is one cistern within the East Austin survey area, dating to around 1915.

Character-defining features of a Cistern

- Cylindrical or rectangular structures.
- Typically masonry construction.
- May rest directly on ground or be elevated on wood supports.
- Varied size.

Figure I-178. A masonry **cistern** located at 1807 Garden Street. Constructed around 1915, this cistern is rectangular in shape and sits directly on the ground. Note the cistern's close proximity to the house. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

5C.2. Landscape

Landscape features are defined as designed, man-made cultural resources located in an outdoor context. Within the East Austin survey area, these features include stone walls, street lights (i.e. the Moonlight Towers), and a bell tower, all of which were constructed between 1894 and 1965.

Character-defining features of a Landscape Feature

- Differ in size and shape.
- No stylistic features.

Figure I-179. Located at approximately 2200 East 13th Street, this photo shows examples of both an 1894 Moonlight Tower (Moonlight Tower 9) and a ca. 1935 stone wall; both considered a **landscape feature**. Note both resources' proximity to the street. Source: Photo by HHM, 2016.

6. Recommended Local Landmarks

The THC-compatible survey forms compiled within *Appendix C* present information on each individual resource recommended eligible for local landmark designation. The survey forms provide the following: two photographs of the resource; identifying information, such as address and parcel ID number; architectural descriptions highlighting the resource's physical characteristics; historical information including occupation history at five-year intervals; integrity issues; prior designations; and both local and NRHP-eligibility recommendations. The survey forms indicate what criteria the resource meets (see *Evaluation Framework*) for local landmark designation, and when relevant, links the resource to an area of significance established within the *Historic Context of East Austin.* Eligibility recommendations will be subject to further review and research by the preservation officer upon receipt of an application for historic zoning.

The material provided in the survey forms aims to provide the framework and a majority of the background information needed for an owner to complete the application for designating a local landmark. Based upon the requirements of the *City of Austin Historic Zoning Application Packet*,[1] the components included for each recommended local landmark are as follows:

- ***Application Form*** identifying the following: owner and owner information; project name; street address; area/tract to be rezoned; existing and proposed zoning; active zoning case, subdivision case, restrictive covenant changes and/or site plan requests; property description; deed reference; and tax parcel identification number.
- ***Tax Maps,*** one copy of each of the current tax plats showing all properties within 500 feet of the tract for which zoning approval is being requested, to be obtained from the Travis County Central Appraisal District (TCAD) office at 8314 Cross Park Drive, Austin, Texas 78754.
- ***Tax Certificate*** to be obtained from the County Tax Office at 5501 Airport Boulevard.
- ***Inspection Authorization Form*** signed by owner or authorized agent.
- ***Acknowledgment Form Concerning Subdivision Plat Note/Deed Restrictions*** signed by applicant. Plat can be obtained at the City or County Courthouse and deed restrictions are recorded at the County Courthouse.
- ***Historical Documentation*** providing a chronological list of prior owners; a chronological list of prior occupants; biographical data on prior owners and occupants; information on historically significant events having occurred at the resource; information on architect, builder, contractor, and/or any craftsman having worked on the building; historical photographs or plans if available; and a brief historical narrative.[2]

- ***Digital Color Photographs*** showing full exterior views of all elevations, setting, outbuildings, and detail shots of architectural, structural, and/or landscape features.
- ***Dimensioned Site Plan*** showing location of all buildings and structures on the tract.

Preservation Austin—the non-profit organization that advocates for preservation in Austin—may be available to provide guidance to property owners with the completion of the application.

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[1] *City of Austin Historic Zoning Application Packet*, City of Austin Historic Preservation Office, accessed July 11, 2016, http://austintexas.gov/sites/default/files/files/Planning/Applications_Forms/historic-zoning.pdf.

[2] Under *Occupant history* in the survey forms, sometimes a name will be followed by a "c," "o," and/or "r." These are taken directly from the Austin City Directories. According to the City Directory, "c" represents an occupant of "color," "o" represents an owner, and "r" represents a renter.

7. Recommended Historic Districts

The materials compiled within *Appendix D* summarize each recommended historic district within the East Austin Survey area, noting typical development patterns and integrity issues. Each district is linked to an area of significance established within the *Historic Context of East Austin*, and the form for each district cites the relevant criteria for designation as a City of Austin local landmark and/or inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. (Refer to *Section 3. Evaluation Framework* section for a discussion of the criteria used to determine whether buildings are contributing or non-contributing.) Eligibility recommendations are subject to further review and research by the preservation officer upon receipt of an application for historic zoning. Note that, for the purposes of the survey, the City considers eligibility for listing as a National Register historic district and as a City of Austin historic district to be equivalent, as described in the *Evaluation Framework* (*Section I-3*).

The material regarding recommended historic districts, provided in *Appendix D,* aims to provide the bulk of the required information for designation of a local historic district. Based upon the requirements of the *City of Austin Local Historic District Nomination Application & Instructions*,[1] the components included for each recommended historic district are as follows:

- ***Map*** showing district boundaries, original subdivision boundaries, contributing and non-contributing buildings, and identification numbers keyed to the building inventory;
  - Note that that the boundaries recommended for each potential historic district represent the largest possible area that may meet City of Austin and National Register criteria. However, smaller areas within these boundaries may be eligible for historic district designation as well. A future applicant may find that reducing the district boundaries makes the application process easier, especially when gathering the requisite signatures of support from property owners for local historic district designation.[2] In the recent past, small local historic districts also garnered more political support from the City of Austin Planning Commission and City Council. The City of Austin Historic Preservation Office staff and/or Texas Historic Commission staff are available to consult with historic district applicants to delineate smaller boundaries that would still meet the City/THC criteria;
- ***District overview form*** providing information regarding the geographic description, distribution of contributing and non-contributing resources, overall district development patterns, principal architectural styles and periods of construction, overall district integrity, historic associations, criteria for designation, and period(s) of significance (intended to substitute for the narrative portions of the application); and
- ***Inventory table*** listing every property, property owner, legal description, tax parcel identification number, determination of

contributing or non-contributing status,[3] and a blank field for future applicants to use to indicate property owner support.

- Note that ***survey forms*** for every building within the district are available in electronic format from the City of Austin Historic Preservation Office. These survey forms include photographs, determination of contributing or non-contributing status, legal description, current owner name and address, tax parcel identification number, and architectural information. Survey forms are available in electronic format from the City of Austin Historic Preservation Office.

The remaining application elements will require community organization and input for completion. These include the additional items listed below:

- Full-size tax parcel maps showing the extent of the district boundaries and all properties within 500 feet beyond the boundaries, to be obtained in hard copy from the Travis County Central Appraisal District (TCAD) office at 8314 Cross Park Drive, Austin, Texas 78754;
- Indication of property owner support within the inventory table, along with corresponding signature forms or cards; and
- The required district preservation plan, which entails gathering community input regarding the values and vision for the district. The plan prepared for the Hyde Park Local Historic District[4] may serve as a well-established template for other historic district efforts, especially considering that the plan has been in effect since 2010, and a number of rehabilitation, addition, new construction, and even demolition efforts have been approved by the City Historic Preservation Office and the Historic Landmarks Commission under the plan.

Preservation Austin—the non-profit organization that advocates for preservation in Austin—may be available to provide guidance to help community members with the completion of the remaining application elements.

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[1] *City of Austin Local Historic District Nomination Application & Instructions*, City of Austin Historic Preservation Office, accessed June 29, 2016, http://www.austintexas.gov/sites/default/files/files/Planning/Historic_Preservation/lhd_zoning_application.pdf.

[2] The City of Austin historic district designation process requires obtaining signatures documenting support from owners of 51 percent of property owners or owners of 51 percent of the included acreage; meanwhile the National Register nomination process instead requires sending out letters of notification, with a response required only for opposition, and opposition from 51 percent of owners required to obstruct the nomination. Refer to *Appendix H, Additional Preservation Resources*, for more information.

[3] The *Evaluation Framework* in *Section I-3* provides additional detail regarding the methodology used to determine contributing versus non-contributing recommendations. Also note that the vacant lots are included as non-contributing resources in these counts. Vacant lots typically are counted by the City of Austin, but not by the National Register. Consult with the staff of the City of Austin Historic Preservation Office and/or the THC for further detail.

[4] *The Hyde Park Preservation Plan and Design Standards* (Austin, Texas: Prepared for the City of Austin, 2010); from the City of Austin Historic Preservation Office, accessed July 7, 2016, http://www.austintexas.gov/sites/default/files/files/Planning/Historic_Preservation/hydepark_design_stds.pdf.